

Douglas, Stephen A. —
P. 100

DIAGNOSIS

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Abraham Lincoln's Contemporaries

Stephen A. Douglas
Biography

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

From the files of the
Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection

That Indenture made this Twelfth day of April in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Fifty Six Between Abraham Lincoln and Mary Lincoln his wife of the County of Sangamon and State of Illinois party of the first part and Francis Morris of the County of McLean and State of Iowa party of the second part Witnesseth That the said party of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of Four Hundred Dollars to them in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged have granted bargained and sold and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever the following described real Estate to wit:

Sots Eberon and Duclon in Block Two in Ceram's addition to Bloomington in the County of McLean aforesaid

To Have and To Hold the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever. The above described Sots together with all and singular the privileges and appurtenances therunto belonging - And the said party of the first part do covenant to and with the said party of the second part that they are lawfully seized and have full right to convey said Sots and that they warrant and will forever defend the title of the same against the claims or claims of any and all persons whomsoever =

The Testimony whereof the said party of the first part have recited at their hands and seals this day and year first above written =

State of Illinois } ss.
Sangamon County

This day personally appeared before me undersigned Clerk of the Circuit Court of said County Abraham Lincoln and Mary Lincoln his wife who are personally known to me to be the real persons by whom and in whose names the within deed purports to be executed and acknowledged that they executed the same for the purposes therein expressed = And the said Mary Lincoln having been by me examined separately and apart from her said husband and the contents of said deed made known to her acknowledged that she executed said deed and relinquished her right of dower in and to said Sots freely and voluntarily; and without the threats coercion or compulsion of her said husband.

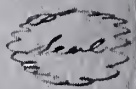
The Testimony whereof I have recited subscribed my name and affixed the seal of said court the 12th day of April 1856 =

Filed May 13th 1856
Recorded May 20th 1856

J. C. Matheny Clerk

THIS INDENTURE Made and entered into this 24th day of September A.D. 1836 between Stephen A. Douglass of the first part and James Allen of the County of McLean and State of Illinois of the second part witnesseth that the said Stephen A. Douglass of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of eight hundred dollars to him in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged has granted bargained and sold and by these presents does grant bargain and sell unto the said James Allen of the second part the following described Lots of land Situate lying and being in the town of Bloomington in the County of McLean and State of Illinois and known on the plat of said town as being Lots number one hundred and eight and one hundred and eighteen in. Addition to said town together with all and singular the appurtenances thereto belonging to him and to hold the said premises unto the said James Allen forever This indenture is upon this express condition that whereas the said Stephen A. Douglass has this day executed his two several notes of hand bearing even date herewith for the sum of four hundred dollars each the one due one payable twelve months after date and the other eighteen months after date now if the said Stephen A. Douglass shall will and truly pay or cause to be paid both of said notes when they become due and payable according to the tenor of the same then this obligation to be void otherwise to be and remain in full force and virtue In witness whereof the said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and seal the day and year above written in the presence of

S

Stephen A. Douglass 

State of Illinois)
McLean County, this day before me an acting Justice of the peace in and for the County aforesaid came Stephen A. Douglass who is known to me as the identical signer of the written instrument and acknowledged the same as his own voluntary act and deed this the 24 day of September A.D. 1836

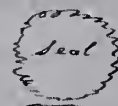
W. J. Brown J. P.

Filed 26 Sept

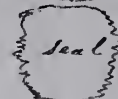
recorded 17 Oct 1836.

Mrs. McMillan Made and entered into this 24th day of September A D 1836
 between James Allin and Catharine his wife of the County of McLean and State of Illinois of the first
 part and Stephen & Paulass of the County of Morgan and State aforesaid of the second part
 witnesseth that the said James Allin and wife of the first part for and in consideration of the
 sum of twelve hundred dollars to them in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged has
 granted bargained and sold and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the said Stephen
 & Paulass of the second part the following described Lots of Land situate lying and being in the Town of
 Bloomington in the County of McLean and State of Illinois and described in the plat of said Town as being
 Lots number one hundred and eight and one hundred and eighteen in Allins Addition to said Town of
 Bloomington together with all and singular the appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise app-
 entaining to have and to hold the same unto the said Paulass forever and the said James Allin and
 wife do covenant and agree with the said Stephen & Paulass to warrant and forever defend the title
 to the premises aforesaid against the claim or claims of all and every person whatsoever
 In witness whereof the said parties of the first part have hereunto set their hands and seals
 this 24th day of September A D 1836
 in presence of W. P. Brown

James Allin



Catharine Allin



State of Illinois
 McLean County } W. P. Brown a Justice of the peace within and for the County of McLean
 do Certify that the within named James Allin and Catharine his wife who are ^{personally} known to me to be
 the identical individuals who executed the within deed this day personally appeared before me
 and acknowledged that they have signed sealed and delivered the same for the purposes therein
 expressed and the said Catharine Allin wife of the said James Allin being by me examined
 separate and apart from her said husband and being by me made acquainted with the conte-
 nts of the within deed acknowledged that she had signed sealed and delivered the same
 for the purpose therein expressed freely voluntarily and without compulsion of her
 said husband and had relinquished her right of dower to the land therein named
 Given under my hand and seal this 24th day of September A D 1836

W. P. Brown J. P.

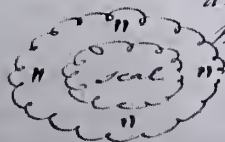
Filed 21 & returned 26th Oct. 1836.

This Indenture made and entered into this twenty ninth day of October in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirty six between Stephen A Douglass of the County of Morgan and State of Illinois of the first part and Joseph Blake of the County of Morgan and State of Illinois of the second part witnesses That the said Stephen A Douglass of the first part for and in consideration of four hundred and twenty dollars in hand paid by the said party of the second part the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged has granted bargained and sold and by these presents does grant bargain sell convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever the following described piece or parcel of land situated lying and being in the County of Morgan and State of Illinois and known and designated on the Plat of the Town of Bloomington as being the East half of Block One hundred and Eighteen in James Allins addition to said town of Bloomington and bounded as follows To wit. Beginning at the south East corner of said Block on Washington Street thence running west on the line of said Washington Street about sixty seven feet to the Center of said Block thence running North parallel with East Street One hundred and thirty feet thence running East about sixty seven feet to the East side of said Block thence South One hundred and thirty feet to the place of beginning — Together with all and singular the appurtenances thereto belonging or in anywise appertaining To have and to hold the above described tract or parcel of land unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever — And the said Stephen A Douglass the aforesaid tract or parcel of land and premises unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns against the claims or claims of all and every person whatsoever does and with warrant and forever defend by these presents — In witness whereof the said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year first above written signed sealed delivered in presence of Saml's Brooks

Stephen A Douglass & Seal
State of Illinois Morgan County ss — I Saml S Brooks an acting Justice of the peace within and for said County do Certify that Stephen A Douglass whose signature appears to the foregoing deed of conveyance and who is personally known to me to be the identical person who signs the same this day appeared before me and acknowledged that he had signed sealed and delivered the same as his free act and deed for the uses & purposes therein expressed Given under my hand and seal at Jacksonsville this 29th day of October in the year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and thirty six
Saml S Brooks JP Seal

State of Illinois
Morgan County ss — I Dennis Rockwell Clerk of the County Commissioners Court of said County do Certify that Samuel S Brooks Esq whose signature appears to the attached Certificate was at the time of signing the same a Justice of the peace within and for said County duly commissioned and qualified according to law and that as such full faith and credit should be given to all his acts

In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and affixed the seal of said Court at Jacksonsville this 29th day of Oct. One thousand eight hundred & thirty six
Dennis Rockwell Clk



This Indenture

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the day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six between Stephen A Douglass of the County of Morgan and State of Illinois of the first part and Joseph Flesch of the County of Morgan and State of Illinois of the second part witnesses that the said Stephen A Douglass of the first part for and in consideration of the sum of two hundred and sixty seven dollars in hand paid by the said party of the second part the receipt whereof is here by acknowledged has granted bargained and sold and by these presents does grant bargain sell convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever the following described pieces or parcels of land situate lying and being in the County of Morgan and State of Illinois and known and designated on the plat of the Town of Bloomington in said said County as being Lot number one in Block number one hundred & eight in James Allins addition to said Town of Bloomington which Lot hereby conveyed is bounded as follows to wit: beginning at the corner of west and Jefferson streets in said Block thence running west on the line of said Jefferson street sixty six feet thence running south parallel with the west street one hundred and thirty feet thence running east sixty six feet to the line of west street thence running north along the line of west street one hundred and thirty feet to the place of beginning and also Lot number five in said Block one hundred and eighty bounded as follows to wit: beginning at a point in Washington street sixty six feet west of west street in said Block thence running west sixty six feet thence running north one hundred and thirty feet parallel with said west street one hundred and thirty feet to the place of beginning in said Washington street together with all and singular the appurtenances thereunto belonging in anywise appertaining To have and to hold the above described tracts or parcels of land unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns forever and the said Stephen A Douglass of the first part the aforesaid tracts or parcels of land and premises unto the said party of the second part his heirs and assigns against the claim or claims of all and every person whatsoever and will warrant and forever defend by these presents In witness whereof the said party of the first part has hereunto set his hand and affixed his seal the day and year first above written signed sealed and delivered in the presence of
 Samuel S Brooks

Stephen A Douglass

State of Illinois Morgan County } I Samuel S Brooks an acting Justice of the peace within and for said County do certify that Stephen A Douglass whose signature appears to the foregoing deed of conveyance and who is personally known to me to be the identical person who signed the same this day appeared before me and acknowledged that he had signed sealed and delivered the same as his free act and deed for the use and purposes therein expressed

Given under my hand and seal at Jacksonville this 24th day of October in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty six

Samuel S Brooks J P

Seal

State of Illinois }
 Morgan County } J. Penney Rocknell Clerk of the County Comm
 sioners Court within and for said County do certify that Samuel
 Brooks Esq. whose name appears to the within Certificate
 acknowledgement was at the time of signing the same and
 still is an acting Justice of the peace within and for sa
 county and that full faith and credit shall be given to a
 his acts as such

Given under my hand and the seal of said
 Court at Jacksonville this Twenty fourth day of Oct 1836

Penney Rocknell Clk

By J. W. Henderson J. C.

Williamston
 Morgan Co
 Illinois

Springfield Lodge No. 4 AF&AM under the
recommendation
Grand Lodge
H.C. McLean

Springfield April 21st A.D. 5840 A.D. 1840

To the W. Master, Wardens & Brethren of Springfield
Lodge No. 26. of Free and Accepted Masons.

The subscriber residing in the City of Springfield
State of Illinois of lawful age and by occupation
a Lawyer, begs leave to state that unbiased by
friends and uninfluenced by mercenary motives
he freely and voluntarily offers himself as a can-
didate for the mysteries of Masonry, and that he is
prompted to solicit this favour by a favourable
opinion conceived of the Institution, a desire of
knowledge and a sincere wish of being serviceable
to his fellow creatures. Should his petition be
granted he will cheerfully conform to all the
antient established usages & customs of the Fraternity.

V. M. Douglas

Recommended by
L. E. Cornwell.
J. S. Roberts

DOUGLAS

A WESTERN VIEW. Tom Corwin of Ohio, in one of his late speeches, thus characteristically expresses a very natural thought concerning Senator Douglas: 13. Transcript 7/22/58

I have said that I honor Douglas. I honor any man in a party who looks the head of that party in his face, and defies his power. But why did not Douglas wholly emancipate himself, instead of putting the fetters off one hand, and allowing the handcuffs to dangle from the other?

THE LIFE OF HON. STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, by James W. Sheahan, Esq. Harper & Brothers, New York.

On looking into this volume, we find it a far better one than we anticipated. The "Life" of a candidate got up by a partisan on the eve of an election, is generally fulsome and clap-trapish! There is a silly one of this kind just got out in behalf of Banks, of Massachusetts, entitled "The Bobbin Boy"; and the unlucky Lincoln is about to have his life taken, which in attempting to present him as a hero, will merely caricature him.

Mr. Sheahan's Life of Douglas is well written, candid and full. The controversy with Lincoln occupies a prominent place, showing how that specimen of "Lincoln's weakness long drawn out," was used up by the Little Giant. Lincoln was the father of the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine. In his speech at Springfield, June 17th, 1858, (four months before Seward's Rochester speech,) he announced it in these words:

"In my opinion, the slavery agitation will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect to see the house fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new—North as well as South." *ATLAS ANGUS*

Mr. Douglas, when he returned to Chicago, to commence his campaign for the Senate, on the 9th of July, 1858, thus denounced this "irrepressible conflict doctrine" of Mr. Lincoln, and its wicked corollary, the doctrine of enforced conformity of the political institutions of sovereign States. He cited the words above quoted, and said: *ATLAS ANGUS*

"In other words, Mr. Lincoln asserts, as a fundamental principle of this government, that there must be uniformity in the local laws and domestic institutions of each and all the States of the Union; and he therefore invites all the non-slaveholding States to band together, organize as one body, and make war upon slavery in Kentucky, upon slavery in Virginia, upon the Carolinas, upon slavery in all of the slaveholding States in the Union, and to persevere in that war until it shall be exterminated. He then notifies the slaveholding States to stand together as a unit, and make it an aggressive war upon the free States of the Union, with a view of establishing slavery in them all, of forcing it upon Illinois, of forcing it upon New York, upon New England, and upon every other free State, and that they shall keep up the warfare until it has been established in them all. In other words, Mr. Lincoln advocates, boldly and clearly, a war of sections—a war of the North against the South, of the free States against the slave States—a war of extermination, to be conducted relentlessly until the one or the other shall be subdued, and all the States shall either become free or become slave." *ATLAS ANGUS*

"Now, my friends, I must say to you frankly that I take hold, unqualified issue with him upon that principle. I assert that it is neither desirable nor possible that there should be uniformity in the local institutions and domestic legislation of the different States of this Union. The friends of our government never contemplated uniformity in its internal concerns. The Fathers of the Revolution and the sages who made the Constitution well understood that the local and domestic institutions which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be totally unfit for the rice plantations of South Carolina; that they well understood that the

laws which would suit the agricultural districts of Pennsylvania or New York, would be totally unfit for the large mining regions of the Pacific, or the lumber regions of Maine.

"How could this uniformity be accomplished if it was desirable and feasible? There is but one mode in which it could be attained, and that is by abolishing the State Legislatures, blotting out State sovereignty, merging the rights and sovereignty of the States, in one consolidated empire, and vesting Congress with the plenary power to make all police regulations, domestic and local laws uniform throughout the limits of the Republic!"

F. H. LITTLE & Co., have the volume.

J. WRIGHT

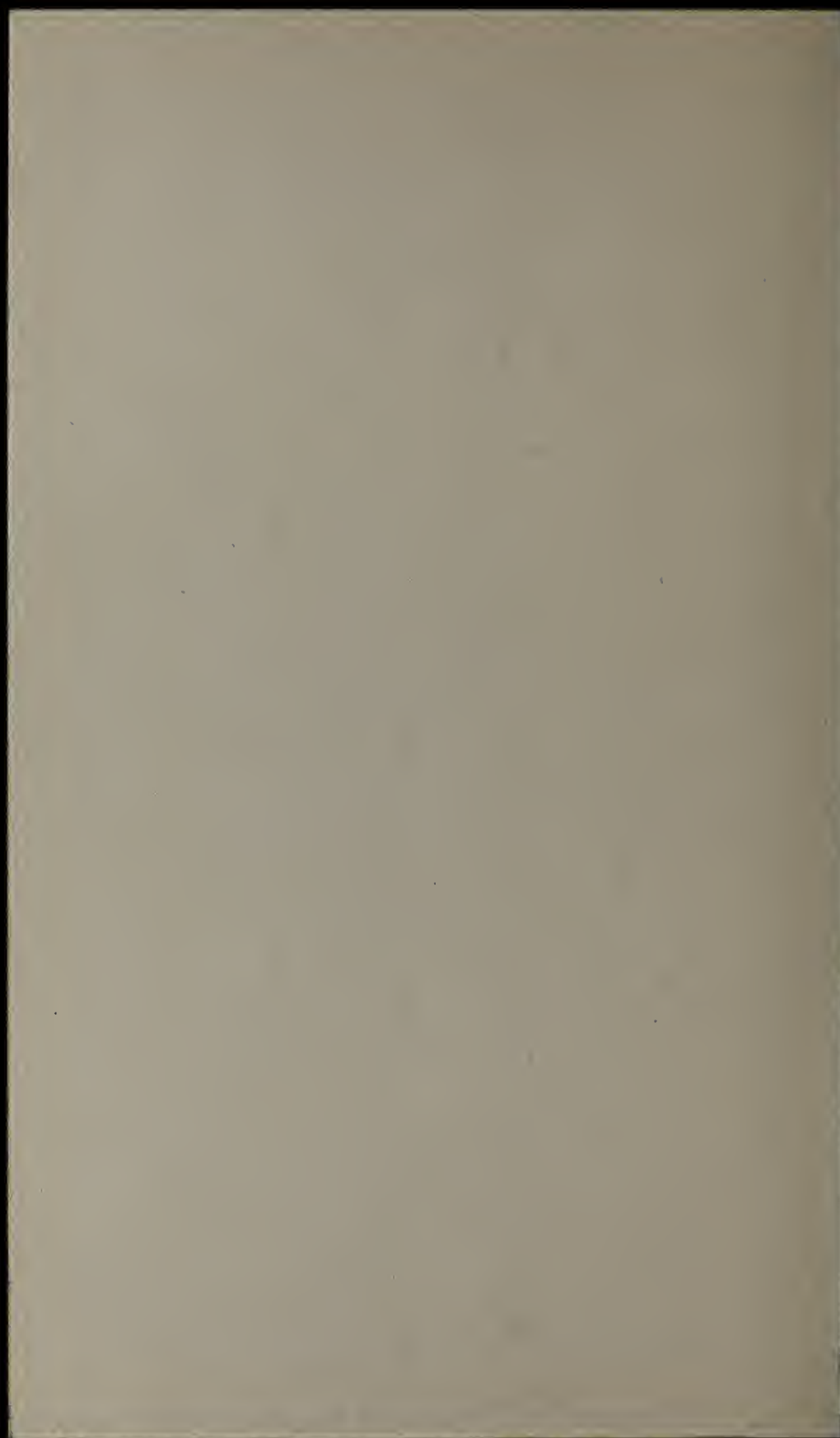
REMINISCENCES OF STEPHEN A DOUGLAS.

by

J.Howard,Jr.

in

Atlantic Mon.Aug.1861.



REMINISCENCES OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

I DO not propose to enter upon a discussion of the question that now agitates the entire population of Brandon township, Vermont,—namely, whether Douglas was born in the Pomeroy or the Hyatt mansion. It is enough for our purpose to record the fact that he *was* born, and apparently *well* born,—as, from the statement of Ann De Forrest, his nurse, he first appeared a stalwart babe of fourteen pounds weight.

He lived a life of sensations; and that he commenced early is clearly shown by the fact that he was a subject of newspaper comment when but two months old. At that age he had the misfortune to lose his father, who, holding the baby boy in his arms, fell back in his chair and died, while Stephen, dropping from his embrace, was caught from the fire, and thus from early death, by a neighbor, John Conant, who opportunely entered the room at the moment. And here let me say, that for generations back the ancestors of Douglas were sturdy men, of physical strength and mental ability. His grandfather was noted for his strong practical common sense, which, rightly applied, with industry, made him in middle life the possessor of wealth, and the finest farm on Otter Creek. This, however, in later years was gradually taken from him, by means which had better, perhaps, remain unmentioned. The father of Stephen was a physician of more than ordinary talent and of much culture. He had attained but to early manhood, when a sudden attack of heart-disease removed him from life, and compelled his widow, with her infant boy, to face the world alone.

A bachelor brother of the Widow Douglas took her and the baby to his farm, where, for several years, the one mourned the loss of her husband, while the other grew in strength and muscle. The earlier developments of the boy were characteristic, and typical of those in later life. He

was very quick, magnetic in his temperament, and full to the brim with wit and humor. Beyond his uncle's farm ran the far-famed Otter Creek, whose waters, in my boyhood, were forbidden me, as inevitably leading the incautious bather to "a life of misery and a premature death." There it was, however, that Stephen earned his earliest triumphs. It is a long pull across the Otter Pond, and the schoolmaster's last charge was always, "Keep this side of the rock in the middle,—don't try to cross"; but reckless then of life as since in politics, self-confident and daring as always, Douglas, of all the boys, alone dared disobey the charge, and succeeded in reaching safely the opposite shore.

His companions, sons of farmers well to do in the world, were preparing to enter college; and Douglas, the best scholar in his class, the finest mathematician in the township, and who without instruction had mastered the Latin Grammar and "*Viri Romæ*," applied to his uncle for permission to join them. The uncle, however, never noted for much liberality either of brain or pocket, having taken to himself a wife and gotten to himself a boy, was unable to see the necessity of giving the orphan a college education, and pitilessly bound him to a worthy deacon of the church, as an apprentice to the highly respectable, but rarely famous, trade of cabinet-making. In this Douglas did well. It has been stated elsewhere that "he was not fond of his trade," and that "his spirit pined for loftier employment." Possibly. But for all that he succeeded in it, and these lines are being written on a mahogany table made by him while an apprentice at Brandon. It is a strong, substantial, two-leaved table, with curiously carved legs terminating in bear's-feet, the claws of which display an intimate acquaintance on the part of the maker with the physiological formation of those appendages, and a more than

ordinary amount of dexterity in the handling of tools. It was while in this occupation that he gained the *sobriquet* of the "Tough 'Un." He was nearly seventeen years of age, and, though not handsome, was very intelligent and bright in his appearance, so that he was able to compete successfully for the smiles and favors of a young country lass who reigned the belle of the village. This did not suit the "mittened" ones, and they determined to draw young Douglas into a controversy which should result in a fight, — he, of course, to be the defeated party. The night chosen for the onslaught was the "singing-school night," and the time the homeward walk of Stephen from the house of the fair object of contention. The crowd met him at the corner store. From jests to jibes, from taunts to blows, was then, as ever, an easy path; and in reply to some unchivalric remark concerning his lady-love, Douglas struck the slanderer with all his might. Immediately a ring was formed, and kept, until Douglas rose the victor, and without further ceremony pitched into one of the lookers-on, and stopped not until he, too, was soundly thrashed, when, with flashing eye and clenched fist, he said, — "Now, boys, if that 's not enough, come on, and I 'll take you all together!" At this juncture, the good old Deacon, who had been trying cider in the cellar of the store, came along, and, taking Stephen by the arm, said, — "Well, Steve, you *are* a tough 'un! What! whipped two, and want more? Come home, my boy, come home!" He was allowed ever after to go and come with his bright-eyed beauty, unmolested, and for years was known there and in the neighboring townships as the "Tough 'Un." Here, too, he gained the reputation of being a good fellow, a whole-souled friend, and a jolly companion. He *would* read, and his favorite works were those telling of the triumphs of Napoleon, the conquests of Alexander, and the wars of Cæsar.

He was still desirous of a collegiate education, and it is undoubtedly true that constant application to his books, when

he should have been resting from the labors of the day, brought upon him an illness, the severity of which compelled him to abandon his employment and return to his uncle's house. There he obtained permission to take a course of classical studies at the academy, a permission of which he availed himself with enthusiasm. He was then a fine, well-built youth, foremost in plays, active in all country excursions, and ever popular with his elders. Indeed, this last trait followed him through life; and when those of his own age were at sword's-point with him, he was sure of finding friends and favor amongst such as were older and wiser than himself. His mother, about this time, married a lawyer of wealth and position, residing in the interior of New York, who, appreciating the talent of the boy, aided him in his laudable endeavors to obtain an education, and sent him to the academy at Canandaigua in that State. There Douglas was soon among the first. He was the most popular speaker of them all, pleasing old and young, and causing the hall of the academy to be filled with an interested audience whenever it was known that he was to be the orator of the night. His love of humor and his keen sense of the ludicrous aided him not a little in the quick repartee, for which he was then, as since, noted. He was far from idle during the three years of his life at Canandaigua; for, besides applying himself with untiring energy and zeal to the pursuit of a classical course at the academy, he devoted much of his time to reading in the law-office of the Messrs. Hubbell. His examiners for the bar stated that they had never before met a student who in so short a time made such proficiency; and while they took pleasure in complimenting him, they also extended to him the privileges which are accorded by rule only to those who have pursued a complete collegiate course. This was especially gratifying and stimulating to Douglas, who remarked to a fellow-student that for the wealth of a continent he would not have had his "mother die

without hearing that intelligence of her son's progress."

At the age of twenty, Douglas commenced, with the fairest prospects, the practice of law in the beautiful village of Cleveland, Ohio. Hardly had the paint on his "shingle" become dry, when a sudden attack of bilious fever prostrated him, and confined him to his room for months. He was thoroughly restless; he pined for action; and when his physician said to him, "Sir, if you allow yourself to fret in this manner, you will certainly frustrate my efforts, and die," he replied, "Not now, Doctor; there's work ahead for me." Upon his recovery, he found himself in a situation such as would crush the spirit of ninety-nine men in a hundred. He was weak, with but a few dollars, with no friends, in a region of country that did not promise him health, and with no knowledge of other localities. He paid his debts and left the place. He wandered, literally, from town to town, until his means were gone and his strength well-nigh exhausted, when, on a bright Wednesday morning in the month of November, 1833, he reached the village of Winchester, Illinois.

In his head were his brains, in his pocket his cash resources, namely, thirty-seven and a half cents, and in a checkered blue handkerchief his school-books and his wardrobe. He knew no one there, he had no plan of action, and, foot-sore, with heavy heart, he leaned against a post in the public square, and for the first time in his life gave way to gloomy forebodings. He had, however, entered the town where his fortunes were to mend, his life to receive new vigor, and his successful career to begin.

While standing thus, he noticed at the farther end of the square a crowd of people, and walked towards them. On a platform stood a red-faced, burly auctioneer, with a straw hat and a loud voice, who was arguing with some one in the crowd of expectant buyers the impossibility of proceeding with the sale without a clerk to aid him. He was in the heat of the discussion, when his eye fell upon

the intelligent face and fragile form of young Douglas, to whom he beckoned,—when the following dialogue ensued.

Auctioneer. I say, boy, you look like you're smart; can you figure?

Douglas. I can, Sir.

Auctioneer. Will a couple of dollars a day hire you, till we finish this sale?

Douglas. And board?

At which reply the crowd laughed, and the auctioneer, who thought he had found a treasure, said,—

"Yes, and board; tumble up and go to work."

Whereupon, Douglas, whose legs were weak, whose stomach was empty, and whose head fairly ached with nervous excitement, mounted the platform, began his work as deputy-auctioneer, and laid the foundations of a popularity in that section which increased with his years and strengthened with his success. The sale for which he was hired continued three days, and attracted the residents of the place and the farmers from the neighboring towns, all of whom were favorably impressed by the bright look, the quick, earnest manner, the frequent humorous remarks, and the unvarying courtesy of the young clerk. In the evenings, when gathered about the huge iron stove in the bar-room of the hotel, and the doings, good or bad, of "Old Hickory" were the theme of discussion, one and all sat quiet, listening with admiration, if not with conviction, to the conversation of the youthful politician, who at that time was a great admirer of General Jackson.

With the same tact and adaptability to circumstances which were characteristic of him through life, Douglas determined to make use of these people; and so dexterously did he manage, that, before he had been with them a week, he had produced upon their minds the impression that he was of all men the best suited to teach their district school the ensuing winter. He dined with the minister, rode out with the doctor, and took tea with the old ladies. He talked politics with the farmers, recounted adventures

to the young men, and, if my informant is trustworthy, was in no way shy of the young ladies. The zeal with which he sang on Sunday, and the marked attention which he paid to the sermonizings of the dominic, advanced him so far in the affections of the honest people of that rural town, that, had he asked their wealth, their prayers, or their votes, he would have had no difficulty in obtaining them.

There are no reasons for believing, that, as a schoolmaster, he was particularly well qualified. He did very well, however, and satisfied the entire township, so that, had he been content with that very honorable, but somewhat inconspicuous life, he might doubtless have remained there until this day. Up to this period he had been a strict temperance man. No intoxicating drink had as yet passed his lips; and an early experiment with a pipe had so sickened him, that he had resolved never again to attempt it. It would have been well for him, had he adhered to that resolve; but, like many other politicians, he thought it necessary, in the days of his early public life, to mix with the crowd, to join the bar-room circle, to tell his story and sing his song, to smoke, and generally to conform to all those demands of pot-house oracles which have perhaps elevated the few, but without doubt destroyed the many. His aim then was popularity. He did his best as a teacher, giving his spare time to the law. Before the Justices' Court he argued frequently, and commonly with success. There he gained reputation, and having been elected member of the legislature, he determined to devote his life thenceforth to what seemed to him kindred pursuits, politics and law.

In the latter his successes were frequent. At first he was employed, naturally, in minor cases; but it was soon discovered that no one at the bar was his equal in the dexterous management of a knotty point, the successful defence of a desperate villain, or the game of bluff with judge, jury, or opposing counsel. His cases were such as developed his

cunning, his ingenuity, and tact, rather than tested his learning or research; and it is doubtful if he would, in the practice of law alone, have achieved more than a local distinction, and that not in all respects a desirable one. In the wording of the State Statutes he was well read, and he often availed himself of his remarkable memory to the entire discomfiture of an opponent, whose technical error, quickly detected by the watchful ear of Douglas, would be turned against him with great effect. So constant was his success in the defence of criminal cases, that it was deemed well, by the powers that were, to elevate him to the position of prosecuting attorney for the first district of the State. This was done in 1835, when he was but twenty-two years of age. At that time he was of singularly prepossessing appearance and popular manners. The *people* were fond and proud of him; and when he made his acknowledgments to them for the above-mentioned token of their confidence, he so excited them by his oratory, that they took him from the platform, raised him upon their shoulders, and bore him in triumph about the town, while hundreds followed, shouting, "Hurra for little Doug!" "Three cheers for the Little Giant!" "We'll put you through!" and "You'll be President yet!"

The judges of the Supreme Court thought that a great mistake had been made; and one of them, who in later years was one of Mr. Douglas's warmest friends, did not hesitate to say that the election was wrong. "What business," asked he, "has this boy with such an office? He is no lawyer, and has no books." Indeed, he met with no little opposition from his brethren at the bar, but none that in any way impeded his progress in the affections of the people, or disheartened him in his efforts after loftier place. Judge Morton relates, that at no time was Douglas found unprepared. "His indictments were always properly drawn, his evidence complete, and his arguments logical." Before a jury he was in his element. There he could indulge

in story-telling, in special pleading, and in all the intricate devices which beguile sober men of their senses, and prove black white or good evil. From judge to jury, from the highest practitioner to the lowest pettifogger, there soon came to be but one impression. He was acknowledged to be the champion of the Illinois bar.

His career upon the bench, to which he was soon after elevated, was brilliant, because energetic, and successful, because he never permitted contingencies to thwart a predetermination, and because that coolness and grit which enabled him to whip a second sneering boy while he was yet a youth had become a settled trait of his character. It was during the sitting of his court, that the notorious Joe Smith was to be tried for some offence against the people of the State. Mob-law had taken matters somewhat under its charge in the West; and the populace, fearing that Smith, in this particular instance, might manage to slip from the hands of justice, determined to take him from the court-house and hang him. They even went so far as to erect a gallows in the yard, and, having entered the court-room, demanded from the sheriff the person of the prisoner. Judge Douglas was in his seat; the room was filled with the infuriated mob and its sympathizers; Smith sat pale and trembling in his box; while the sheriff, after vainly attempting to quell the disturbance, fell powerless and half-fainting on the steps. "Sheriff," shouted the judge, "clear the court!" It was easier said than done. Five hundred determined men are not to be thwarted by a coward, and such the sheriff proved. It was a trying moment. The life of Smith *per se* was not worth saving, but the dignity of the court must be upheld, and Douglas saw at a glance that he had but a moment in which to do it. "Mr. Harris," said he, addressing a huge and sinewy Kentuckian, "I appoint you sheriff of this court. Select your deputies. Clear this court-house. Do it, and do it now." He had chosen the right man. Right

and left fell the foremost of the mob; some were pitched from the windows, others jumped thence of their own accord; and soon the entire crowd, convinced of the judge's determination to maintain order, rushed pell-mell from the court-room, while Smith, who had unperceived made his way up to the feet of the judge, laid his head upon his knee and wept like a child. "Never," said Douglas, "was I so determined to effect a result as then. Had Smith been taken from my protection, it would have been only when I lay dead upon the floor." The fact that he had no right to appoint a sheriff was not one of the "points of consideration." "How shall I execute my will?" was probably the only question that suggested itself to his mind at the time, and the logic of the answer in no way troubled him. The dignity of the bench was always upheld by Judge Douglas during the sitting of the court; but he was no stickler for form or ceremony elsewhere.

A friend tells an amusing anecdote illustrative of his daring and somewhat foolhardy spirit, even in mature life. Mr. Douglas, then a judge of the Supreme Court of Illinois, was one of a number of passengers who, on the crack steamboat "Andrew Jackson," were going down the Mississippi. The steamer was detained several hours at Natchez, where she was supplied with wood and water, and during the delay a huge, hard-fisted boatman, somewhat the worse for a poor article of strychnine whiskey, made himself very conspicuous and exceedingly obnoxious by the continual iteration of his intense desire to fight some one. He was fearful that he would "ruin," if his pugilistic wants were not immediately attended to, and in manner more earnest than agreeable invited one and all to "come ashore and have the conceit taken out" of them. From the descriptive catalogue he gave of his own merits, the passengers gathered that he was "a roarer," "a regular bruiser," "half alligator, half steamboat, half snapping-turtle, with a leetle dash of chain-

lightning thrown in," and were evidently afraid of him; when the Judge, who had been quietly smoking on the deck, stepped out upon the quay, and, approaching the bully, said, with a peculiarly dry manner, —

"Who might you be, my big chicken, eh?"

"I'm a high-pressure steamer," roared the astonished boatman.

"And I'm a snag," replied Douglas, as he pitched into him; and before the fellow had time to reflect, he lay sprawling in the mud.

A loud shout, mingled with derisive laughter, burst from the spectators, all of whom knew the Judge; and while the discomfited braggart limped sorely off, the passengers carried Douglas to the bar, where, for hours after, a general series of jollifications ensued, and he who a few days before had sat the embodiment of judicial dignity on the supreme bench now vied with a motley crowd of steamboat-passengers in song and story. As a judge he was as he should be; but he was a judge only while literally on the bench.

The decisions of Judge Douglas were recognized always as able and impartial; but his habit of "log-rolling," or, as the extreme Westerners call it, "honey-fugling" for votes and support, had so grown upon him, that his sincere friends feared lest he would sink too low, and in the end defeat himself. He had ascertained, however, that success was in the gift of the multitude, and to them he ever remained faithful.

Had Mr. Douglas been born four months sooner than he was, he would have been a Senator of the United States in 1842, when his age would have been thirty years; but owing to the fact that he would not be thirty until April of the following year, his friends found it would be unadvisable to elect him. In November, 1843, however, he was elected to the House, after passing through one of the most exciting canvasses ever known in the West. Everywhere he met the people on the stump. That seemed to be

his appropriate forum, and the only position in which he could indulge in his peculiarly popular style of oratory. His greatest achievement during that Congress was his speech in defence of General Jackson, — a speech begun when the seats and halls were comparatively empty, but concluded in the presence of an overwhelming audience. After the adjournment of Congress, delegations from many of the States were sent to a monster Jackson Convention held at Nashville, and Mr. Douglas was a member of the Illinois Committee. By invitation, he stopped at the Hermitage. Hundreds of others were calling to pay their respects to the old hero, and to congratulate him upon his triumph, when Douglas entered. He was short and plain, and attracted little attention, till presented by Governor Clay of Alabama. On the announcement of his name, the General raised his still brilliant eyes, and gazed for a moment on the countenance of the Judge, still retaining his hand.

"Are you the Mr. Douglas of Illinois who delivered a speech last session on the subject of the fine imposed on me for declaring martial law at New Orleans?" he asked.

"I have delivered a speech in the House on that subject," replied Douglas.

"Then stop," said the General; "sit down here beside me; I desire to return you my thanks for that speech."

And then, in the presence of that distinguished company, the aged soldier expressed his gratitude for the words so kindly and justly spoken, and assured him of his great obligations. At the conclusion of the interview, Douglas, who was unable to utter a word, grasped convulsively the aged veteran's hand and left the hall.

At his death, General Jackson left all his papers to Mr. Blair, the editor of the Washington "Globe," and among them was a printed copy of the speech, with this indorsement, written and signed by himself: — "This speech constitutes my defence: I lay it aside as an inheritance for my grandchildren."

In the famous Compromise struggle of 1850, Judge Douglas developed great strength of will and wonderful executive ability. With Henry Clay he was on the most friendly terms, and that statesman once said of him, that he knew of "no man so entirely an embodiment of American ideas and American institutions as Mr. Douglas." It is well known that to Senator Douglas belongs the credit of initiating the great "Compromise Bill," and that, though reported by Mr. Clay as from the Select Committee of the Senate, it was in reality the California and Territorial Bills drawn up by Mr. Douglas, united. It was at his own suggestion that this was done; and when Mr. Clay objected, on the ground that it would be unfair for the Committee to claim the credit which belonged exclusively to another, he rebuked him, and asked by what right he (Mr. Clay) jeopardized the peace and harmony of the nation, in order that this or that man might receive the credit due for the origin of a bill. Mr. Clay was so struck by the manner and observation of Mr. Douglas, that he grasped his hand and said,—"You are the most generous man living! I *will* unite the bills, and report them; but justice shall nevertheless be done to you as the real author of the measures." It has been.

Some time after this, he had occasion to visit Chicago, and his friends were desirous that he should address the people in defence of the principle involved in the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. On Saturday night he appeared before his audience in the open square in front of North Market Hall. His opponents had been more active than his friends. Ten thousand roughs, determined to make trouble, had assembled there; and when the speaker appeared, they saluted him with groans, cat-calls, ironical cheers, and noises of all kinds. That sort of thing in no way annoyed him. He was used to it. On similar occasions he had by wit and good-humor succeeded in gaining a respectful and generally an enthusiastic hearing, and he expected to do so now.

He was mistaken. For four hours the contest raged between them. He entreated, he threatened, he laughed at them, told stories, bellowed with the entire volume of his sonorous voice, but without success. They defied and insulted him, until the clock in a neighboring church-tower tolled forth the midnight hour. "Gentlemen," said Douglas, taking out his watch, and advancing to the front of the stand, "it is Sunday morning. I have to bid you farewell. I am going to church, and you—can go to —." Whereupon he retired, and the crowd followed, hooting, jeering, and screaming, until they left him at the door of his hotel.

No man living possessed warmer friends than Mr. Douglas. I saw tears of sorrow fall from the eyes of hard-featured Western men, when at the Charleston Convention it became evident that he could not receive the Presidential nomination. Hard words were spoken and hard blows were given in his cause there, and subsequently at Baltimore; and it is doubtful if ever caucusing or struggles for success insured more bitter or lasting hatreds than were engendered during the prolonged contests at those places. The result of that strife, the subsequent canvassing of the country in search of friends and votes, and the ultimate defeat, worked wonderful changes in him, morally and physically. All that in years past he had looked for, all he had struggled for, seemed put forever beyond his reach; and he was from that hour a different man. Fortunately for him, gloriously for his reputation, the people of the South saw fit to rebel; and Douglas, espousing the side of the right, has died a patriot. There had always been a feeling of friendship existing between Mr. Lincoln and Judge Douglas; and the manner in which the latter acted just prior to the Inauguration, and the gallant part he sustained at that time, as well as afterwards, served to increase their mutual regard and esteem. It was my good-fortune to stand by Mr. Douglas during the reading of the Inaugural of

President Lincoln. Rumors had been current that there would be trouble at that time, and much anxiety was felt by the authorities and the friends of Mr. Lincoln as to the result. "I shall be there," said Douglas, "and if any man attacks Lincoln, he attacks me, too." As Mr. Lincoln proceeded with his address, Judge Douglas repeatedly remarked, "Good!" "That's fair!" "No backing out there!" "That's a good point!" etc.,—indicating his approval of its tone, as subsequently he congratulated the reader and indorsed the document.

At the Inauguration Ball, all were waiting the arrival of the Presidential party. Much feeling had been created in the city by the announcement that Washington people did not intend to patronize the affair, and it was feared that it might fall through. Presently the band struck up "Hail Columbia," and President Lincoln with his escort entered the room, followed by Mrs. Lincoln, who was supported by Judge Douglas. A more significant demonstration of friendship and of personal interest could not possibly be suggested; and Mr. Douglas, that night, by his genial manner, his cordial sympathy with the *personnel* of the new Administration, and the effectual snubbing which he thereby gave to the pretentious movers in Washington society, won for himself many friends, and the gratitude of all the Republicans present.

About two months since, while in the telegraph office at Washington, I saw Mr. Douglas. Accosting him, I asked what course he thought the President should pursue towards the sympathizers with the South who remained in that city. "Well," replied he, "if I were President, I'd convert or hang them *all* within forty-eight hours. However, don't be in a hurry. I've known Mr. Lincoln a longer time than you have, or than the country has; he'll come out right, and we will all stand by him."

The President was, in return, a warm friend of Mr. Douglas. I had occasion to inquire of him if he had, as was re-

ported in the newspapers, tendered to Judge Douglas the position of Brigadier-General. "No, Sir," said Mr. Lincoln, "I have not done so; nor had I thought of doing so until to-night, when I saw it suggested in the paper. I have no reason to believe Mr. Douglas would accept it. He has not asked it, nor have his friends. But I must say, that, if it is well to appoint brigadier-generals from the civil list, I can imagine few men better qualified for such a position than Judge Douglas. For myself, I know I have not much military knowledge, and I think Douglas has. It was he who first told me I should have trouble at Baltimore, and, pointing on the map, showed me the route by Perryville, Havre de Grace, and Annapolis, as the one over which our troops must come. He impressed on my mind the necessity of absolutely securing Fortress Monroe and Old Point Comfort, and, in fact, I think he knows all about it." The President continued at some length to refer to the aid, counsel, and encouragement he had received from Judge Douglas, intimating that the relations subsisting between them were of the most amicable and pleasant nature.

It was evidently the purpose of Mr. Douglas, during the present crisis, to impress upon the country the fact, that at the outset he had declared himself a Union man, faithful to the Constitution and the upholding of its powers.

Mr. Douglas has left many friends and many opponents, but few enemies. Careless of money, he died poor. Generous to recklessness, he permitted his estate to become incumbered and taken from him. Early in life he aimed at personal popularity, and obtained it. In later years he desired legal honors, and they were his. Successful in all he undertook, he raised his ambition to the highest post among his fellows, and its possession became the sole object of his life. For its attainment he gave everything, yielded everything, did everything, and became everything, without success. In all things he was extreme. His loves and hates

were strong. His habits, however they may be estimated, were apparent to all. His life — was it a failure?

His death I will but mention. It has plunged a loving family into sorrow, and taken from a party its leader. Thousands of sentences gratifying to his friends are written about his greatness, and the sacredness of his memory; and no word will be uttered here to offend them. He shall himself close this paper, and I will be the medium of conveying in his behalf

a message to his fellow-countrymen, — a message which he spoke into the ear of his watchful wife, for the future guidance of his orphan children: —

“Reviving slightly, he turned easily in his bed, and with his eyes partially closed, and his hand resting in that of Mrs. Douglas, he said, in slow and measured cadence, —

“‘TELL THEM TO OBEY THE LAWS
AND SUPPORT THE CONSTITUTION OF
THE UNITED STATES.’”

OUR RIVER.

(FOR A SUMMER FESTIVAL AT “THE LAURELS” ON THE MERRIMACK.)

ONCE more on yonder laurelled height
The summer flowers have budded;
Once more with summer's golden light
The vales of home are flooded;
And once more, by the grace of Him
Of every good the Giver,
We sing upon its wooded rim
The praises of our river:

Its pines above, its waves below,
The west wind down it blowing,
As fair as when the young Brissot
Beheld it seaward flowing, —
And bore its memory o'er the deep
To soothe a martyr's sadness,
And fresco, in his troubled sleep,
His prison-walls with gladness.

We know the world is rich with streams
Renowned in song and story,
Whose music murmurs through our dreams
Of human love and glory:
We know that Arno's banks are fair,
And Rhine has castled shadows,
And, poet-tuned, the Doon and Ayr
Go singing down their meadows.

But while, unpictured and unsung
By painter or by poet,

Our river waits the tuneful tongue
And cunning hand to show it, —
We only know the fond skies lean
Above it, warm with blessing,
And the sweet soul of our Undine
Awakes to our caressing.

No fickle Sun-God holds the flocks
That graze its shores in keeping ;
No icy kiss of Dian mocks
The youth beside it sleeping :
Our Christian river loveth most
The beautiful and human ;
The heathen streams of Naiads boast,
But ours of man and woman.

The miner in his cabin hears
The ripple we are hearing ;
It whispers soft to homesick ears
Around the settler's clearing :
In Sacramento's vales of corn,
Or Santee's bloom of cotton,
Our river by its valley-born
Was never yet forgotten.

The drum rolls loud, — the bugle fills
The summer air with clangor ;
The war-storm shakes the solid hills
Beneath its tread of anger :
Young eyes that last year smiled in ours
Now point the rifle's barrel,
And hands then stained with fruits and flowers
Bear redder stains of quarrel.

But blue skies smile, and flowers bloom on,
And rivers still keep flowing, —
The dear God still his rain and sun
On good and ill bestowing.
His pine-trees whisper, "Trust and wait!"
His flowers are prophesying
That all we dread of change or fate
His love is underlying.

And thou, O Mountain-born! — no more
We ask the Wise Allotter
Than for the firmness of thy shore,
The calmness of thy water,
The cheerful lights that overlay
Thy rugged slopes with beauty,
To match our spirits to our day
And make a joy of duty.

MADE & SOLD
AT
TYSON'S
BOOK SHOP
319 Caesar Misch Bldg.
PROVIDENCE, R. I.



acquaintance, though double my age, who has been a teacher of the higher branches in our public schools for many years. She is an intelligent, educated, cultivated woman, who has supported herself and her widowed mother ever since the war. She has built her a lovely little home out of her earnings, on which she pays taxes just as a man would have to do; she is amenable to the laws, even as a man; her work has been to educate and uplift the rising generation: and yet she is denied the right of franchise, while any ignorant negro, who can neither read nor write; any foreigner who has taken out naturalization papers, though he may not be able to even speak our language, is allowed a voice in framing our laws, though he own not one square inch of land in this country, and perhaps never will. Surely this is unjust, and thus far I agree with the writer of the article on "Woman;" but I cannot agree with him that woman is in a crushed and downtrodden condition, with her hand on her mouth, and her mouth in the dust; and I believe that just as soon as women care to combine, and exert their influence to the utmost, they will have all that they want.

MARIE.

LOUISVILLE, KY.

Belford's Magazine Sept 1890

HON. LYMAN TRUMBULL ON STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

JUDGE TRUMBULL, before writing his article on Stephen A. Douglas in the July BELFORD'S, had only to read the record of the Charleston Convention to tell why some States withdrew from it, and how Mr. Douglas made his own nomination impossible. As the record may not be convenient, here it is.

The Committee on the Platform and Resolutions, by a majority (of States) reported: "That the government of a Territory organized by act of Congress is provisional and temporary, and during its existence all citizens of the United States have an equal right to settle with their property in the Territory, without their rights either of person or property being destroyed or impaired by Congressional or Territorial legislation. That it is the duty of the Federal Government, in all its departments, to protect, when necessary, the rights of persons and property in the Territories, or wherever its constitutional authority extends.

"That when the settlers in a Territory have an adequate population and form a State Constitution, the right of sovereignty commences, and being consummated by admission into the Union, they stand on an equal footing with the people of the other States; and the State

thus organized ought to be admitted into the Federal Union, whether its constitution prohibits or recognizes slavery."

The minority (of States) report, as did the other, adopted the platform of 1856, and added :

"Inasmuch as difference of opinion exists in the Democratic party, as to the nature and extent of powers of a Territorial legislature, and as to the powers and duties of Congress, under the Constitution of the United States, over the institution of slavery within the Territories; *Resolved*, that the Democratic party will abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States upon those questions of constitutional law."

The minority report was substituted by a vote of the Convention for the majority report; then a division of the question was carried, and so much of the minority report as pledged the Democratic party to abide by the decisions of the Supreme Court was rejected. Immediately Alabama withdrew from the Convention, followed by Mississippi, South Carolina, Florida, Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas. All stated that they were ready to yield everything but an abandonment of constitutional rights. After they had withdrawn, Mr. Douglas could not get two-thirds of the votes of the remaining States. His following had obeyed his order to force his theory upon the party "at all hazards." To the credit of disorganizing and defeating the Democratic party, Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Douglas are justly entitled. The attempt to transfer their laurels to Southern men, history will not sanction. It is permissible to represent Mr. Van Buren and Mr. Douglas as very sagacious statesmen, sure that the Free States, *per fas aut nefas*, would not permit additional Slave States, and consequently seeking a means by which one section could be satisfied, and the other not excited by a sense of violated rights. Upon such a supposition their later and earlier careers are consistent. If so, they failed, because the question was one on which, "he who is not for me, is against me."

A. W. CLASON.

IRWIN, VA.

LOVE AND REASON.

Was ever Love so hard bested!

He fought with Reason day by day,
And still his darts, well-aimed, well-spel,
Fell from his steel-clad foe away.
But when Love would have fled the field,
Reason cried out, "I yield! I yield!"

JEANNIE OLIVER BENSON.

Honoring Douglas.

The next issue of the Illinois Blue Book will contain a sketch of the life of Stephen A. Douglas, written by Representative Mary Cowen McAdams. A new hotel is to be erected in Quincy and will be known as the Lincoln-Douglas hotel. Recognition of the service of Douglas to Illinois has not been what it should.

When Abraham Lincoln entered national politics, Douglas was a leader, not only in the state but in Washington. He was devoted to the interests of Illinois, but in all political elections some one must be defeated and Douglas lost to Lincoln. That did not embitter Douglas. He stood with Lincoln for a united nation, against disloyalty.

Mrs. McAdams was instrumental in getting the appropriation for the statue of Douglas at Winchester. She is convinced that our recognition of the merits of Douglas has been too slow.

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The Man Who Made Lincoln

Stephen A. Douglas, Born 100 Years Ago Next Wednesday, and the Stirring Series of Events by Which He Proved the Resources of the Rail-Splitter's Intellect How Political Enmity Turned to Warm Friendship Before the "Little Giant" Died, Just as the Civil War, Lincoln's Greatest Test, Began

BY JOHN HOWARD TODD.

I RECKON that boy would be handier making cabinets, secretaries and bureaus than little legs, bedsteads and washstands," observed Nahum Parker, as he peered out over a pair of iron-framed glasses, set low on his nose, one afternoon in the late fall of 1808. Nahum Parker, let it be here known, was the leading cabinet-maker of Middlebury, Vt. "That boy" was Stephen A. Douglas, aged 15, whose frail body was topped with a head that looked out of all proportion to the rest of his ninety pounds. In the previous spring he had engaged himself to the stern Dr. Porter to learn the trade.

"I then felt contented and happy," wrote Mr. Douglas in his autobiography, penned in Illinois just ten years later, "and I never aspired to any other distinction than that connected with my trade and improvement in the art."

The boy quit his job because his employer wanted him to do chores around the house before and after shop hours, and thus, perhaps, the world may grant some credit to Nahum Parker of Middlebury, Vt., for making a great statesman by losing a mediocre cabinet-maker. Also his fellows may yield to Nahum Parker of Middlebury, Vt., the gift of prophecy when he uttered his supervisor's words about cabinets, secretaries and bureaus. It had not escaped the watchful Nahum that the boy was spending his Sundays and his other spare hours reading about law and politics and like things.

It will be an even 100 years next Wednesday since Stephen A. Douglas came to this world at Brandon, Vt., on April 23, 1813. On that morning, around a rude cabin in Harlan County, Kentucky, ran a homely lad of 4 years whose life was destined to touch at many points the other life that began at Brandon.

Douglas and Lincoln.

It is not given to finite minds to know why Abraham Lincoln, born and reared where men were chaste, should have become the great emancipator, while Stephen A. Douglas, coming from the free hills of Vermont, chose now to lift his voice, or wield his pen in behalf of the bondman.

One needs to know his Douglas to value best his Lincoln, and to know something of the story of both to catch the great purpose of the Master Planner in making these two lives meet and diverge and meet again.

Each faced from his home, handicapped by poverty, to make his own way in the world. Douglas taught school in Winchester, Ill., while Lincoln clerked in a store at New Salem, not many miles distant. In the same year the two came together first as representatives in the famous tenth general assembly at Vandalia in 1836. Douglas was 23, Lincoln 23. A few years later both were authors for the heart of Mary Todd, whom Lincoln married.

On the day that Douglas made his debut in the United States Senate, in March, 1847, Lincoln took the oath of office as a member of the lower house of Congress. Douglas was 32, Lincoln 31. A few years later both were elected to the United States Senate. Measured by the yardstick of personal politics, Lincoln's record fell short. His constituents branded him with the word "failure."

In 1861 Lincoln came home from Washington and resumed his law practice. Three years later he saw Douglas one of the leading candidates of his party for the presidency. The gap between the two careers was wide. Most men believed it impassable.



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.
From a Portrait Owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

Lincoln was one of these at the time, but he foresaw how events might turn. Mighty thoughts were formulating in his brain. There came his chance to utter them in the joint debate with Douglas in 1858—to utter them in a way that focused the attention of the whole nation.

Brains and the Presidency.

This is not the place to discuss in detail that debate. It is enough now to say that Stephen A. Douglas did humbly a service of vast import by compelling Abraham Lincoln to bring to bear in that forenoon contest every superb resource of his great mind. With such an adversary to conquer and with such an issue at stake, there must have followed a battle of brains that could not help setting forth new standards of leadership and making Illinois the storm center of agitation of the prime moral and political question of the hour.

Exactly that was the sequel. Lincoln lost the senatorship to Douglas at the ensuing election, but two years later, as the champion of a united and virile young party, he was a candidate for President, and he won over Douglas, standard-bearer of a broken Democracy. In the joint debate he had jockeyed Douglas into a virtual admission that, according to his logic, the people of a territory could legally exclude slavery from a place where, by the terms of the Dred Scott decision, it had a legal right

reached that the oppressed of my species might have shared with me in the election. I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

In 1858 after he was re-elected senator, Mr. Douglas said to Henry Wilson in Washington regarding Mr. Lincoln: "He is an able and honest man; one of the ablest men of the day. I have been in Congress sixteen years and there is not a man in the Senate I would not rather encounter in debate."

These comments, brief as they are, faithfully reflect the characters of the two men. Douglas was all intellect. Lincoln was mind plus heart. Douglas was contented to lead along the lines of cold reasoning. Lincoln was true to himself when he was serving his fellows to better them. Both believed in the breaking out of the civil war that the first aim must be the saving of the Union. Beyond that goal Douglas saw the flag and then his vision ended. Lincoln saw the flag and in the farther distance derived a beckoning humbly.

In a contribution to the October, 1912, number of the Journal of the Illinois Historical Society by Frank E. Stevenson of Dixon, Ill., is incorporated the full text of an autobiography by Mr. Douglas bearing the date of Sept. 1, 1858. In this first-hand story of his youth covering the first twenty-two years of his life. When it was written he had served six years as state's attorney of Morgan County by election of the legislature, as a member of the Illinois house and as register of the land office at Springfield by appointment of President Van Buren.

Cabinet-Maker and Reader.

Douglas' father, a physician of Brandon, Vt., died when the boy was 2 months old. The youngster passed his earlier years on the farm of an uncle. At 16 he left home, promising his mother "to keep out of bad company, avoid all immoral and vicious practices, attend church regularly and obey the regulations of my employer." He worked less than a year with Nahum Parker, quarreled with that gentleman, and then took a place in the cabinet shop of Deacon George Knowlton in Brandon, his native town.

He became intensely interested in the great campaigns of 1828, read all the newspapers, had arguments he could spare on "mousetails" about the cause of General Andrew Jackson against John Quincy Adams and thus formed for the Democratic party an attachment which lasted throughout his life.

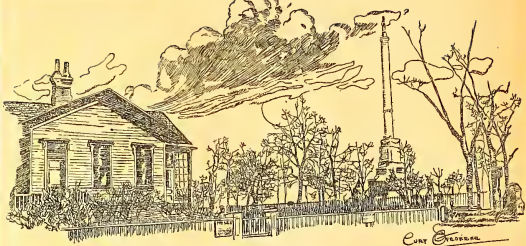
The soon parted company with Deacon Knowlton, and in December, 1829, he became a student in the academy at Canaanville, Ontario County, N. Y., the home of his married sister, Mrs. Julius N. Oranger. For two years he wrestled valiantly with Greek, Latin, mathematics, rhetoric and logic, studied during the ensuing six months in a law office, and in June, 1833, left home with \$300 of his patrimony to chase his way to fame in the West.

For four months he lay ill of fever in Cleveland. The doctors told him he would die, but he didn't care.

"During that sickness," he wrote, "I enjoyed more peace and contentment of mind, more perfect freedom from all care and trouble, except occasional bodily pain, and more negative happiness than during any other similar period of my life. I can account for it on no principle of philosophy or human nature."

Wority of Each Other's Steel.

In 1836 Abraham Lincoln said of Stephen A. Douglas: "Twenty years ago Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted. Even then we were ambitious—I, perhaps, quite as much as he. With me the race of ambition has been a failure—a total failure. With him it has been one of splendid success. I afford no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. So



The Douglas Home (Razed in 1907) and the Douglas Monument in Woodlawn Park, Chicago—From a Photograph Owned by the Chicago Historical Society.

In October he left Cleveland, dropped down to Portsmouth, Ohio, on the canal, spent a few days successfully in Cincinnati, Louisville and St. Louis. "With no particular object in view and ready to embark in any adventure adapted to my taste and feeling which presented itself."

In Jacksonville With \$1.25.

Then it dawned on him that he was far from home, among strangers, with only a few dollars in his pocket. After paying his tavern bill he walked across the country to Jacksonville, Ill., landing there with a grand total of \$1.25. Murray McConnell, pioneer lawyer, took an interest in him, loaned him \$10 worth of law books and advised him to go to Pekin and open a law office. He tried to follow this advice, but when he reached Meredosia he learned that no boats would go up the Illinois River till spring.

When he settled with the innkeeper he had four bits left. There was no job in sight at Meredosia, but happily a farmer came along when the world looked very blue and told the young man a school-teacher was needed out at Exeter. He took Douglas on the same horse with him across ten miles of sloppy country, kept him all night and the next day accompanied him to Exeter. The villagers there could not be persuaded that any more "harnin" was needed in the immediate community, but supposed Winchester, another ten miles away, stood in need of a schoolmaster. Thereupon Douglas walked to Winchester, arriving late at night. The next day he acted as clerk at an auction sale, and did the work so ably that he was paid \$3, and was regarded as excellent material for a teacher. The spot of it was that he taught forty pupils for three months from Dec. 1, 1833, to March 1, 1834, for \$120. On Saturdays he practiced before justices of the peace, needing no license for that purpose, made many acquaintances and improved the community with his unusual native ability.

It was in 1834, just after he had reached his majority, that Douglas won the title "Little Giant." At a public meeting in Jacksonville Josiah Lamson, a brilliant lawyer and afterward attorney general of the state, bitterly denounced the bank policy of President Jackson. Douglas answered him, and he moved the audience that when he had done he was lifted to the shoulders of strong men, carried around the square and acclaimed as "the little giant."

Knocks That Were Boasts.

That night it began to dawn on Douglas' friends how lucky he was that he did not get the box at Meredosia for Palin. Next to Vandalia, Jacksonville was the great political center in Illinois. To be a leader there meant prominence all over the state. Douglas himself believed his greatest good fortune in Morgan County lay in the kind of opposition he had there. The editor of the Patriot, the opposition organ, printed columns of exhortation of the pro-Jackson speech and of the speaker, continuing for weeks.

"So essential was the service thus rendered me," wrote Douglas in his autobiography, "that I have sometimes doubted whether I was not mutually bound to pay the editor for his abuse, according to the usual price of advertisements. This incident illustrates a principle which it is important for men of the world and especially politicians to bear in mind. Indeed, I sincerely doubt whether I owe most to the kind and efficient support of my friends, or to the violent, reckless and imprudent oppo-

sition of my enemies. Certain I am that without both these causes united, I never could have succeeded as well as I have done."

Douglas entered public life early in 1835, when he was elected state attorney of Morgan County. General John J. Hardin, a power in politics, had been appointed to that office by the governor. Captain John Wyatt, a member of the legislature, helped him get the job, and later, according to the view of Captain Wyatt, his craniatic political friend proven untrustful. Wyatt, aided by John Demast, set to work to pass a bill taking the appointment of state attorneys out of the hands of the governor and transferring it to the legislature. The bill was passed by a majority of four, and the legislators, still coached by Wyatt and Demast, elected Douglas, a 22-year-old boy, to the place.

A Grievous Mistake.

He made a notable record as prosecutor, and in August, 1836, he was elected to the lower house, sitting with Lincoln, Brannen, Egan, Dent, Richard N. Catton, DuBois, Edwards, King, French, Hardin, Linder, Logan, McCrearn, Semple, Moore and Richardson. Of the members of this assembly one became President, six United States senators, eight national representatives, three governors, three lieutenant governors, two attorneys general, five state treasurers, two state auditors, one superintendent of schools, one chairman of a constitutional convention and many judges. That collective wisdom sometimes errs was illustrated by this assembly which passed the bills for an extravagant internal improvement system that inflicted a debt of \$16,000,000—equivalent to a debt of \$100,000,000 today—and came near plunging the great State of Illinois into the shame of repudiation.

"That vote," said Douglas, speaking of his support of the bill, "was the vote of my constituents and not my own."

He had submitted a sort of referendum to the people of his district, he declared, and the instruction given him was overwhelming in favor of a system of the scope contemplated in the bill. That the people more than the legislators were to blame for this grievous mistake is not disputed by any Illinois historian.

Appointed secretary of state Nov. 5, 1840, by Governor Thomas Carlin, Douglas served till the following February, when, upon the reorganization of the Supreme Court, he was elected one of the associate justices of that tribunal at the age of 28 years. In 1842 he was elected to the lower house of Congress, served five years, and took his seat in the United States Senate on March 4, 1847, when he was 34. He was re-elected in 1852 and 1858 and died in 1861 in the senatorial harness.

The Old Love Returns.

In his own state Douglas was more cordially loved and hated than in any other state. For his part in procuring a government land grant in aid of the construction of the Illinois Central Railroad he was lauded to the skies and lionized as a great benefactor of Illinois. In 1854 he was burned in effigy and was howled down by 10,000 citizens of Chicago when he tried for four days to make himself heard at the old North Market Hall in defense of his Kansas-Nebraska bill and his doctrine of popular sovereignty. Church bells tolled merrily and flags were at half mast on all the ships in port.

In 1860 during the presidential campaign, curses were invoked upon his head in every city, town and hamlet of Illinois. After Fort Sumter had been fired on and Douglas had pledged his loyalty to Lincoln, the old love for the man began to return. In his last speech to the Illinois legislature at Springfield, April 26, 1861, he thrilled every listener with his words of patriotism and his declaration that Illinois was "united, firm, determined, never to permit the government to be destroyed."

Ten thousand Chicagoans pressed into the wigwam on May 1, 1861, and cheered Douglas as cordially as they had cheered the name of Lincoln when he was nominated in the same hall a year before. After the wigwam speech Senator Douglas went to his quarters in the Tremont House and never came out of them alive. Blacked with bodily ailments and sorrowing for the plight of his country, he died June 3, 1861. His last words were to his wife for his two sons: "Tell them," he whispered, "to obey the law and uphold the Constitution."

Fifty thousand persons passed through Bryan Hall to pay their tribute to the dead. On June 7, the day of the funeral, business in Chicago was suspended, bells tolled and cannon boomed from Dearborn Park. News felt the blow of Senator Douglas' death more keenly than did President Lincoln.

On the shore of Lake Michigan in Chicago, where Douglas had planned to make his home for the rest of his days, an imposing monument, erected by the State of Illinois and the people thereof at a cost of \$100,000, marks the resting place of the dead in Woodland Park.

To a wonderful facility of speech and reasoning power Douglas added personal magnetism. He was frank, companionable, good-natured and democratic. Having the utmost confidence in himself, he was fearless on and off the rostrum. His course once chosen, he held it steadily to it, allowing no man to convince him he was wrong. He died with no word of regret for any principle he ever upheld, fully persuaded that he had been both consistent and right.

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THE SUNDAY RECORD-HERALD, CHICAGO, APRIL 20, 1913.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS AND THE UNION CAUSE

By Edward Nelson Dingley



IT IS significant that in every great national crisis during the last sixty years, there have been enough patriotic Democrats to join with the Republicans to save the country from disaster. In 1860 loyal Democrats of the North stood by Lincoln. In 1870 to 1880 enough loyal Democrats joined hands with the Republicans to save the country from Greenbackism and repudiation.

In 1896 enough gold Democrats joined with the Republicans to rescue the country from the dangers of free silver coinage. Enough real American Democrats joined with the Republicans in 1918 and 1919 to save the country from the snares of European politics. Without doubt enough conservative and patriotic Democrats will join with the Republicans and save the country from dangerous domestic and foreign policies in the future.

No figure in American politics so clearly typifies this class of Democrats as Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant" from Illinois. Born in Vermont, he came of Puritanical ancestors. Thus his soul responded to the spirit of freedom and nationalism, when the great crisis came. There is no evidence that Douglas was ever predisposed to slavery. There is ample evidence that his political ambition, his party loyalty and his early association with southern Democrats of the old type gradually brought him to the unfortunate position of an opportunist.

MAN OF PRINCIPLE

While Douglas was a practical politician, it cannot be said that he lacked principle. All successful politicians must deal with situations and compromise, if they wish to attain results. Douglas' position from 1850 to 1860 was delicate and trying. One foot was in the North slipping toward freedom; the other was in the South slipping toward slavery. How to ride two horses running in different directions was the feat that finally broke his back.

The Illinois state legislature directly opposed the views of Douglas in regard to Kansas and Nebraska. He was now facing an embarrassing alternative. He must surrender his leadership in Illinois and a seat in the Senate, or surrender his leadership in national affairs and his hold on the South.

With marvelous political skill, Douglas reshaped the political opinion of his party in Illinois, laying greater stress on the constitutional and legal side of the slavery question and less upon its moral or ethical.

From 1852 to 1860 Douglas was the most noteworthy man in public life in the country. Webster, Clay and Calhoun had passed away. Seward, Chase and Sumner, still in the earlier stages of their brilliant careers, were organizing the great party of the future. This interval of eight years belonged to Douglas more than to any other man. Douglas was the cause of Lincoln's entrance on the stage. Douglas had twice been a candidate for the Democratic nomination for President—in 1852 and 1856, but failed both times.

A MASTER SPIRIT

When Douglas entered the Senate he soon became its master spirit. Calm, self-assured, often arrogant, aggressive, brilliant, a tireless fighter, an orator combining something of the impressiveness of Webster and the readiness and roughness of the stump speaker; shrewd and adroit, popular to the point of familiarity, Douglas was easily the most conspicuous figure in Congress. He was a master of sophistry, never a master of any subject. He "learned without study, resolved without meditation, accomplished without toil." Yet eminent statesmen did not hesitate to take their stand under the

Douglas banner. Riper scholars than he, older and better statesmen, frankly acknowledged his leadership and faithfully followed his fortunes.

The epithet "Little Giant" was bestowed upon him by his affectionate followers. It was appropriate. In form he was a short, thick-set man, full of vitality and energy, with a good head and face, thick black hair, heavy black brows and keen eyes. Douglas' personality made a strong, vivid impression upon all with whom he came in contact.

Perhaps a mantle of charity should be thrown over Douglas' personal conduct, his rough and boisterous manner, his often coarse nature. His whole early life was a fight against poverty amidst the lower elements of society. During the long struggle in the Senate the South accepted Douglas' aid but sneered at his crudities. Yet it is said that Douglas was not unlike Lincoln in the early days—both self-made men, roughly hewn, yet possessing big hearts and noble souls.

SUPERB IN DEBATE

In debate Douglas was superb. He had a distinct oratory all his own. His voice was melodious, his enunciation clear. His bitterest political foes were compelled to admit that his skill in making the worse appear the better reason, was masterful. His greatest weakness was his lack of self-control, when he would resort to low and offensive language. Of this the most unfortunate example was his altercation with Sumner. The license to which Douglas resorted was unworthy the best traditions of the Senate. The Brooks assault on Sumner took place soon after Douglas' speech, but was undoubtedly looked upon with reprobation by Douglas. The facts go to show that Douglas did not know of the plot against Sumner.

Douglas informed President Buchanan that he could not support the latter's program in Kansas, of forcing the Lecompton constitution through Congress. The President threatened to remove all those from office who had been appointed upon Douglas' recommendation. Thereupon Mr. Douglas started to depart. "Senator," said the President, "I wish you to remember that no Democrat ever successfully opposed the policy of an administration of his party." Mr. Douglas replied: "Mr. President, permit me most respectfully to remind you that General Jackson is dead;" and withdrew. On the 22nd of March, 1858, Mr. Douglas made one of the greatest speeches of his life in direct opposition to the administration's Kansas program. Crowds flocked to the Capitol to hear him. The galleries and all vacant places were packed with people, most of them women from the South. Then it was realized what a mighty, strong and brave man Illinois had sent to the Senate. Because of this speech Horace Greeley recommended to the Republicans of Illinois that they make no nomination for senator, but re-elect Douglas by unanimous vote. It is not difficult to see in this speech the turning of the tide in the South against Douglas. He chose to follow his judgment and his conscience rather than a Democratic executive.

Douglas rode the whirlwind but did not direct the storm. The Kansas-Nebraska bill, the doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," did not satisfy either the North or the South. It was a straddle; and Douglas fell between two stools. While Douglas was looked upon by the Democrats of the North as a sure winner of the presidential nomination, already he had been discarded by the very action he thought would win the South.

When Congress met December 5, 1859, the very atmosphere of Washington and in fact the whole country, was charged with the portents of a coming clash. Every one of prominence in and out of Congress was armed, anticipating an outbreak. In the House were such Republicans as Charles Francis Adams, Morrill, Conkling, Sherman and Colfax, and such Democrats as Vallen-

dingham, Cox and Sickles. In the Senate were Sumner, Seward, Wilson and Wade on the one side; Douglas, Davis, Toombs, Slidell, Benjamin and Mallory on the other. The battle for Speakership of the House lasted from December 5 to February 1, accompanied by bitter speeches and frequent personal assaults. Sherman was defeated for Speaker after some 30 ballots. An unknown and new member, Pennington, of New Jersey, was elected.

During the long struggle in Congress preceding the national conventions and the election, southern Democratic members of both houses sneered at a settlement of the question of slavery. Representative Crawford, of Georgia, said: "Now, in regard to the election—we will never submit to the inauguration of a black Republican for President." (Applause from the Democrats and hisses from the Republicans.)

NEAR BLOWS

Two Democratic members of the House from Illinois nearly came to blows.

Mr. Logan: "I did not shrink from the responsibility like a spaniel coward—"

Mr. Kellogg: "Does the gentleman call me a spaniel coward?"

Friends prevented a personal clash. Members on the floor and crowds in the galleries cheered, hissed and yelled. The cause of the many clashes was slavery and Mr. Douglas' candidacy for President.

In a letter denying any attempt to secure the election of Douglas to the Senate, Horace Greely wrote: "I detest his doctrines, but I like his pluck." Senator Clarke, of Missouri, said no Democrat should have anything to do with "such a dog as Greeley."

In many respects, the sessions of Congress from December, 1859, to March, 1861, were the most memorable in American history. The bitterness of debate, the approaching presidential conventions and election and the result thereof, the threats of the South and the doubt as to the candidates for President, all gave the sessions a dramatic interest never before experienced. Seward and Douglas were looked upon as the sure winners for the nominations. Neither was in the race as winner—such is the wide divergence of human opinion and Divine destiny.

Mr. Douglas received the blows of his enemies for a long time in silence. The South already was showing its teeth. On the 12th of January, 1860, Mr. Douglas said: "Who has the right to say who is in the party and who not? I believe more than two-thirds of the Democrats of the United States are with me on this disputed point."

THE BALTIMORE CONVENTION

Having been removed from the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Territories to add to his mortification, Mr. Douglas said: "If you were to nominate for the Presidency a man proclaiming that every man holding the opinions I do is marked as a victim for vengeance, what chance have you of electing him? I am determined never to surrender conscientious conviction even to secure the highest place in the government."

The opposition to Mr. Douglas in the Baltimore convention was even more bitter than at Charleston. He was nominated for President at Baltimore; but from the beginning his cause was hopeless. Despite the most strenuous presidential campaign ever undertaken up to that time, Mr. Douglas lost. His political ambition was not realized. His cup of bitterness was full. The South, for which he had sacrificed so much, deserted him at the critical moment.

It is scarcely possible for the people of today to have a proper appreciation of the difficulties under which Mr. Douglas labored, and the obstacles with which he was confronted during that great campaign. He was a Democrat, nominated by a majority of his party; yet President Buchanan fought him and pursued him with a malignant hatred. Every possible inducement was still held out to Democrats to turn against

Douglas. The best offices were offered as reward for turning against him. In the main, northern Democrats stood by him. Southern Democrats knifed the very man who had contributed more to Democratic triumph in 1856 than any other man. Breckinridge was the administration candidate. Illinois gave Douglas 160,000 votes, Breckinridge 2,100. While the South made Douglas' election impossible, it solidified an army of northern admirers and opened the eyes of Douglas himself to the treachery of the South.

Like Saul of Tarsus, Stephen A. Douglas saw the light and was converted. When in 1860 Pennsylvania and Indiana went Republican, Douglas said: "Lincoln is the next President of the United States. I have no hope, no destiny before me, but to do my best to save the Union."

January 3, 1861, two months after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, Mr. Douglas said in the Senate: "I have said that I cannot countenance the right of secession."

While seeking the support of the southern people, he gave them to understand that, should they rebel, they would have no support nor sympathy from him. During that eventful winter Mr. Douglas repeatedly argued against secession and pleaded for the Union.

HOLDING LINCOLN'S HAT

When President Lincoln was about to deliver his first inaugural, he looked around for a place to put his hat. Senator Douglas graciously stepped forward and took it and held it. This slight incident revealed to the vast crowd the future attitude of Mr. Douglas toward President Lincoln, his great and successful antagonist.

While yet the guns were resounding in Charleston harbor and the rebellion was begun, the well known figure of a great statesman was seen to walk into the Executive Mansion. It was Stephen A. Douglas. President Lincoln received Mr. Douglas cordially; and while the shot and shell were falling over Sumter, a most momentous conference was held of great importance and far-reaching significance. When Mr. Douglas emerged he was driven at once to the office of the Associated Press, where he dictated a telegram announcing that he had pledged to the President his most earnest and active cooperation toward putting down the rebellion and saving his country in the great crisis, calling upon every friend to do the same.

Reading the summons, Democrats of the North were as eager to follow the President as they were eager to follow Mr. Douglas. Side by side, Democrats and Republicans took their places in the ranks and marched away to suffer and fight and die for their country.

MIGHTY IN DEFEAT

It was a sad and pathetic incident in the life of Mr. Douglas when he stood before a vast assemblage in the "Wigwam" where Mr. Lincoln, his antagonist and victor, was nominated. Although defeated, Mr. Douglas at that moment was a mighty and potential figure in the galaxy of American statesmen.

Here patriotic men of every shade of opinion and of every political party listened for every word and vied to do him honor. The ambitious politician, misguided, disappointed, was translated into the inspired patriot. He who had refused to see the moral light became the Paul filled with the spirit of truth and righteousness. For years Mr. Lincoln's antagonist, Mr. Douglas became his best friend in the hour of need. The unregenerate Democrat humbly and devoutly became one of the defenders of the Republican party and the Union.

This great patriotic speech in Chicago in the cause of the Union was his last. He passed away on the 3d of June, 1861, with this last message to his sons: "Tell them to obey the laws and support the Constitution of the United States."

In his "Twenty Years of Congress," James G. Blaine said of Mr. Douglas: "Rarely in our history has the action of a single person been attended by a public interest so unusual, by applause so hearty in the North, by denunciation so bitter in the South. * * * Mr. Douglas, with the characteristic boldness of a leader and with a patriotism which did him honor, defended the inaugural address of Mr. Lincoln against the assaults of opposition senators. * * * With danger to the Union, his early affections and the associates of his young life had come back. He remembered that he was a native of New England, that he had been reared in New York, that he had been crowned with honors by the generous and confiding people of Illinois. * * * He believed in the Union of the states, and he stood by his country with a fervor and energy of patriotism which enshrined his name in the history and in the hearts of the American people. His death created the profoundest impression in the country, and the administration (Lincoln) felt that one of the mighty props of the Union had been torn away."

HORACE GREELEY'S OPINION

Horace Greeley said of him: "When war actually grew out of the conflicting pretensions of the Union and the Confederacy, Mr. Douglas took nobly and heartedly the side of his country."

At the memorial exercises in Congress, Representative Cox, of Ohio, said: "History will be false to her trust if she does not write that Stephen A. Douglas was a patriot of matchless purity."

In a letter to the National Intelligencer, written two weeks before he died, Mr. Douglas said: "In view of the facts, there is but one path of duty left to all patriotic men. * * * It becomes the duty of every Union man, every friend of constitutional liberty, to rally to the support of our common country, its government and its flag, as the only means of preserving the Union of the states. * * * I know of no mode by which a loyal citizen may so well demonstrate his devotion to his country as by sustaining the flag, the Constitution and the Union under all circumstances against all assailants at home and abroad."

At the dedication of the Douglas monument in Brandon, Vt., Hon. Joseph G. Cannon sent this message: "He was a great statesman, and in several speeches he made shortly before his decease, he did invaluable service in the great contest for the preser-

vation of the Union. I am satisfied that southern and central Illinois, southern and central Indiana and southern Ohio, except for those speeches, would have been practically in the same condition during the war as were Missouri and Kentucky."

CROWNING ACTS

Loyalty and patriotism were the crowning acts of Mr. Douglas' life. By his voluntary acts he furnished the strongest possible evidence that the preservation of the Union and the Constitution were paramount to all other considerations. He was heroic when he rent asunder personal and party ties to join with Mr. Lincoln and the Republican party in saving the Union. He died with no scar on his patriotism, no stain upon his loyalty.

Like thousands of other Democrats in every national crisis, Stephen A. Douglas espoused the cause of the Republican party and the Union, and led millions to follow him. Should occasion require, there are millions of loyal and patriotic Democrats who will join the Republicans in saving the nation from other perils.

Lincoln-Douglas Drama Told

Bowers Says Both Would Have Same Historical Status If They Had Died in 1861.

1929
SPRINGFIELD, Ill., Feb. 12 (AP).—Claude G. Bowers of New York, keynoter of the last Democratic national convention, stood today in the Sangamon County courtroom, whose walls once echoed to the voice of Abraham Lincoln, and painted a parallel between the emancipator and Stephen A. Douglass, his life-long political rival.

"Had Lincoln and Douglas both died in the first year of the Civil War, the historical status of one would not have differed greatly from that of the other. The Lincoln of history was developed, or brought out, by the sufferings and struggles of four blood-soaked, tear-drenched years of loneliness and anxiety," Bowers said.

"Politicians scorned Lincoln to the end of his life, and the people will love him to the end of time.

"No two great leaders of opposing forces in all history have been more strangely identified in their careers. They were cast for opposing roles in many a drama of their day, their lives touched at many points, and as long as Lincoln is remembered Douglas can not be forgotten.

"By all the dictates of convention all the advantage in the contest should have been with Douglas. When he first looked out upon the world from a neat cottage, in the thoroughly settled town of Brandon, in Vermont, Lincoln, the child in his fourth year, was toddling about a sordid cabin in a Kentucky clearing. The father of one was an educated and successful physician; that of the other the most tragic of all failures, an unsuccessful illiterate ne'er-do-well. Douglas had the background of success; Lincoln of failure.



CLAUDE G. BOWERS

CHICAGOAN TELLS OF DOUGLAS' WORK WITH OLD U. OF C.

Radio Speaker Gives Interesting Facts
About "Little Giant"—Describes
Meeting Here.

Residents of this community who were tuned in on Station WMAQ, Chicago, last evening, were treated to an address on Stephen A. Douglas. The talk was given by Charles S. Winslow of Chicago and came as a part of a program the station calls "Forgotten Bits of Local History". Mr. Winslow dealt largely with the Chicago life of the "Little Giant, altho he also devoted sometime to his experiences at Jacksonville and Winchester.

He gave especial attention to the meeting in Jacksonville at which Douglas roused the enthusiasm of the Democrats and became his party's leader by defending the policies of Andrew Jackson. The speaker mentioned also the close association between Lincoln and Douglas in Springfield. The names of both, he said, appear on the same cotillion programs. Both were prominent in every social function in the village capital, and both figured in the discussions in country stores and from the debating stump for many years.

Each considered the other the leader of his party in the state. Douglas always courted debates with Lincoln, and the latter never refused a challenge. Aside from the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates, the two figured in many other campaigns, following each other about the state and speaking often from the same platform.

Mr. Winslow told much that is new concerning the life of Douglas in Chicago. He moved to that city from Springfield after his election to Congress. Chicago was greatly aroused over the Douglas' proposal of Squatter Sovereignty, and when the "Little Giant" appeared one evening at North Market Hall to make an address on the subject, he was greeted by a howling mob. From early evening until midnight, Douglas battled this opposition until he was exhausted.

Douglas acquired some 6,000 acres of land in what is now the Calumet region of the Chicago area. He had an eighty-acre estate along what is now Cottage Grove avenue, and on the site of a small cottage which was his home, he expected some day to build a fine home. Instead, he is now buried on that spot. In 1856 Douglas gave ten acres from his Cottage Grove estate for the founding of a university. It was donated to a Baptist church board, and an effort was at once made to start a school. The land was mortgaged to raise funds, and the college was opened. It continued until 1885 when lack of funds and overhanging debts caused its close. However, it may be safely said that Stephen A. Douglas, in addition to his other accomplishments, was the prime mover in the founding of the first University of Chicago. In the cornerstone of one of the modern buildings on the present university campus, there is a stone bearing a bronze tablet, which gives the information that the stone is taken from Douglas Hall, a part of the old University of Chicago, 1856 to 1885.

Douglas made his home in Chicago until his death in 1862. He died at the Tremont House, where he spent the early years of his residence in the city. A monument now stands on the site of his grave and the cottage where he resided for a time on Cottage Grove avenue.

JACKSONVILLE ILL. COUR
WEDNESDAY, JULY 24, 1929,

NEW LINCOLN AND DOUGLAS MATTER

Compiled by HERBERT WELLS FAY, Custodian Lincoln Tomb

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS
 Senator of Illinois Who Debated with Lincoln

On August 18, 1906, J. McCann Davis, the Springfield editor and Lincoln enthusiast, sent us the following letter of Mr. Douglas, who later joined in the Lincoln-Douglas debates that put the name of Lincoln upon every reader's lips and made him president.

It will be noted that Douglas in his earliest days spelled his name Douglass. Mr. Davis also sent a facsimile of the Douglas petition for membership of the Springfield Masonic lodge bearing date, April 21, 1840, and completed his degrees June 23 that year. He was elected Junior Warden in 1841. The letter is as follows:

"Lewiston, April 2, 1841.

"M. Helm, W. M., Springfield Lodge
 No. 4.

"Dear Brother: Concerning my continued absence which is unavoidable and incompatible with a proper discharge of the duties of the office of Junior Warden. I intended to have resigned before I left Springfield. I trust that you have

treated the office as vacant; but in the event you have not done so, I now tender my resignation and hope that the interests of the lodge have not suffered in consequence of my omission to perform this duty at an earlier period. Permit me to return to you personally and through you to each individual brother of the lodge my sincere thanks for the kindness and brotherly feeling with which everyone of you has always treated me, and express my ardent desire for your happiness and prosperity until we have met again upon the level. I am, very respectfully, your friend and brother.

"S. A. DOUGLAS."

Mr. Lincoln never belonged to any fraternal orders. The nearest to becoming a Mason is told in the following incident. A important meeting of the Masonic order was held in Washington early in 1865, and at the close of the session a delegation of the officers called upon the President. As they were leaving one

When Stephen A. Douglas Came to Cleveland

By JOHN HUTH

April 23 marks the 126th anniversary of the birth of Stephen Arnold Douglas, senator from Illinois, probably best remembered for his part in the debates on slavery with Abraham Lincoln, who defeated him in the 1860 presidential race. This is the first of three articles.

The Visitors

On or about July 1, 1833, an earnest young man, his large head accentuating his shortness of stature, looked over the side of a steamboat at the "port" of Cleveland. He had, in a sense, begun the journey that became a meteoric rise to fame and popularity as a political leader. There was, however, no welcoming committee at the dock to greet him. Aside from his personal qualities of shrewdness, perseverance, oratorical powers, and ability to think on his feet and a certain opportunism, he was merely another youth going west for fame and fortune.

Probably he wanted to like this growing town in the wilderness, though he could hardly know what to expect. Cleveland at that time had about 5,000 or 6,000 population and Brooklyn, to the southwest, had some 2,000 or more. It had been just 37 years since Gen. Moses Cleaveland surveyed the site. While the visitor later was to write: "I bade farewell to my friends and started alone to the 'great west,' without having any particular destination in view," Cleveland was certainly one of the places he had considered as a stopping-off place.

For he had bothered to obtain several letters of introduction to some "gentlemen of that place" from his friends.

The young man was then known as Stephen Arnold Douglass, the Stephen A. Douglas of American history. He dropped the second s when starting his political career in Illinois a couple of years after coming here.

He had been born near Brandon, Vt., in 1813, lived on a farm there until 15. His father died when Stephen was a boy and Stephen had to get out to earn his living as soon as his frail constitution—he was quite often sick—would permit. When 15, he became an apprentice to a cabinetmaker in Middlebury, Vt., but within a year he showed the spirit of independence and aggressiveness that characterized him later. He didn't like having to do menial jobs around his boss' house, so he quit. He went back to Brandon, got work with another cabinetmaker, stayed a year, until his health failed.

Back to School

Recuperated, he went back to school, first in Brandon's "academy." When the family moved to Canandaigua, N. Y., in December, 1830, he continued his schooling there, studying Greek, Latin, mathematics, rhetoric, and logic and, he said, he "made considerable improvement." Self-improvement continued two years. About Jan. 1, 1833, he entered an office as a law student, but in June, 1833, the determination to

push west overcame him. He departed with letters of introduction and good wishes from his friends, instructions to take care of his not robust health from his mother, and \$300, the last of his patrimony.

Cleveland

On the first night Stephen arrived at Buffalo, looked over nearby battle grounds and Niagara Falls, and a few days later hopped aboard the steamboat. In Cleveland, through the letters he had brought, he "immediately became acquainted with Sherlock J. Andrews, Esq., an accomplished and intelligent gentleman and distinguished lawyer of that city." In an autobiographical sketch dated Sept. 1, 1833, Douglas also wrote:

"Being pleased with Cleveland and its prospects for business, and also with the few acquaintances I had formed there, I immediately determined upon remaining there.

"By the statutes of Ohio, I was required to pursue the study of law one year within the limits of that state before I could be admitted to practice. For that purpose Mr. Andrews was kind enough to offer me the use of his office and library, which I gladly accepted, and entered upon my studies with increasing spirit and zeal."

If intelligent young men are worthwhile investments in a community, it would seem that Cleveland's stock had gone up on that July day. But an unexpected circumstance was to intervene in a very short time.

Cleveland Plain Dealer - 4/20/39

100 YEARS AGO

from the Tribune and other sources
For Your Historical Scrapbook

Aug. 29, 1854: Douglas has taunted Lincoln for seeking "my place" in the Senate, and THE TRIBUNE rebukes him:

"A man of less modesty than Lincoln would have turned upon Douglas with a retort that would have made him draw within his shell. Lincoln was unanimously nominated by the state convention of his party, but Douglas impudently thrust himself forward before he is asked. The Senatorship is not a lifetime prize, but Douglas has taken possession and no prince of the blood royal could be more arrogant when his right to it is questioned. Mr. Douglas, you are mistaken; it is not your place. It belongs to the people of Illinois."

1813--Stephen Douglas, Chicago's Giant--1963

Mark 150th Anniversary Of His Birth Tomorrow

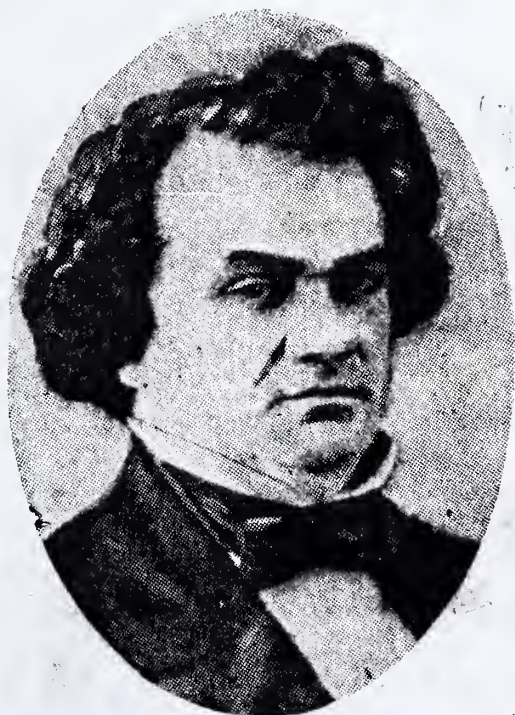
(John Drury has written extensively on the history of the Chicago area. His series in The Daily News have ranged from the histories of Chicago suburbs to sketches of historic Midwest houses. Drury was a reporter and feature writer for The Daily News for 20 years. 4-22-63)

BY JOHN DRURY

Stephen A. Douglas, who represented Illinois in the United States Senate during the critical years before the Civil War, is well known in American history as the Little Giant. Less well known is the fact that he was a Chicagoan.

And it was as a Chicagoan that the short, stocky Douglas, whose birth 150 years ago will be observed in Chicago next Tuesday by patriotic societies,

achieved the distinction, most historians agree, of having done more than any other man to place Abraham Lincoln in the White House.



Stephen A. Douglas, the Little Giant.

PERHAPS the reason so little has been written about the senator's life in Chicago is that he spent most of his time in Washington, serving in the Senate from 1847 until his death in 1861.

Nonetheless, he returned to his adopted city regularly to vote, deliver speeches and welcome friends and political leaders in his suite at the Tremont House on Lake St. or in his summer home on 35th St.

A native of Brandon, Vt., Douglas came west to Illinois in 1833, when he was 20. All he had with him was a scanty wardrobe and 37 cents.

Fresh from law studies, Douglas lost no time getting established in his new home of Winchester, near Quincy. In 1834 he received his lawyer's license and a year later was appointed attorney general of Illinois by the Legislature. The following year he was elected to the Illinois Legislature. By the time he was 28, Douglas was a judge of the state Supreme Court.

* * *

ONE OF his first acts as a senator was to introduce a bill calling for federal land grants to Illinois for a railroad that would run through the center of the state, a move that marked the beginning of the Illinois Central R.R. Another who made the same plea in the lower house was newly-elected Rep. Abraham Lincoln.

Like many a lawmaker and capitalist of that day, Douglas invested in land. After the railroad land grant bill finally passed in 1851, he bought 70

acres of lake shore property in Chicago along the projected Illinois Central route, a tract extending from 33d to 35th streets.

Here he built a summer home, donated a portion of his land to what is known as the "first" University of Chicago and laid out a suburb called Douglas—now the site of the high-rise Lake Meadows housing project and the park containing his tomb and life-size statue.

Several years later, Douglas purchased 6,000 acres from the Illinois Central, a tract

which was then wasteland around Lake Calumet and was dubbed "Mr. Douglas's Frog Pond." Today this once-marshy area is vast Lake Calumet harbor, southern terminal of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

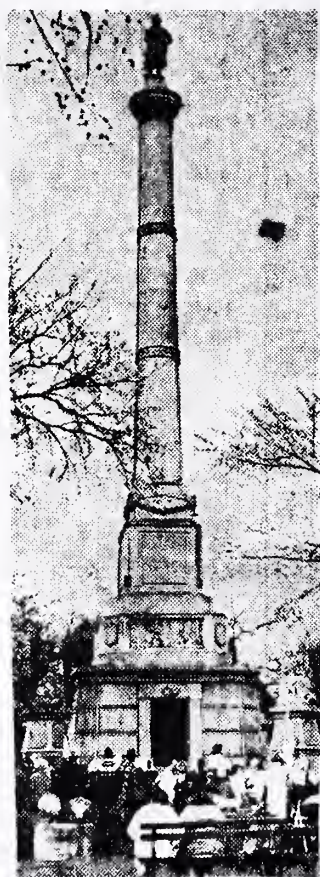
Honor Douglas' Memory on His Birthday



Children from St. Joseph's Home for the Friendless as they watched ceremonies in observance of the 150th birthday of Stephen A. Douglas at the Douglas monument in 35th street near Burnham park yesterday.



Mayor Daley (left) and Gov. Kerner attending the observance under auspices of the Chicago Civil War Centennial commission.



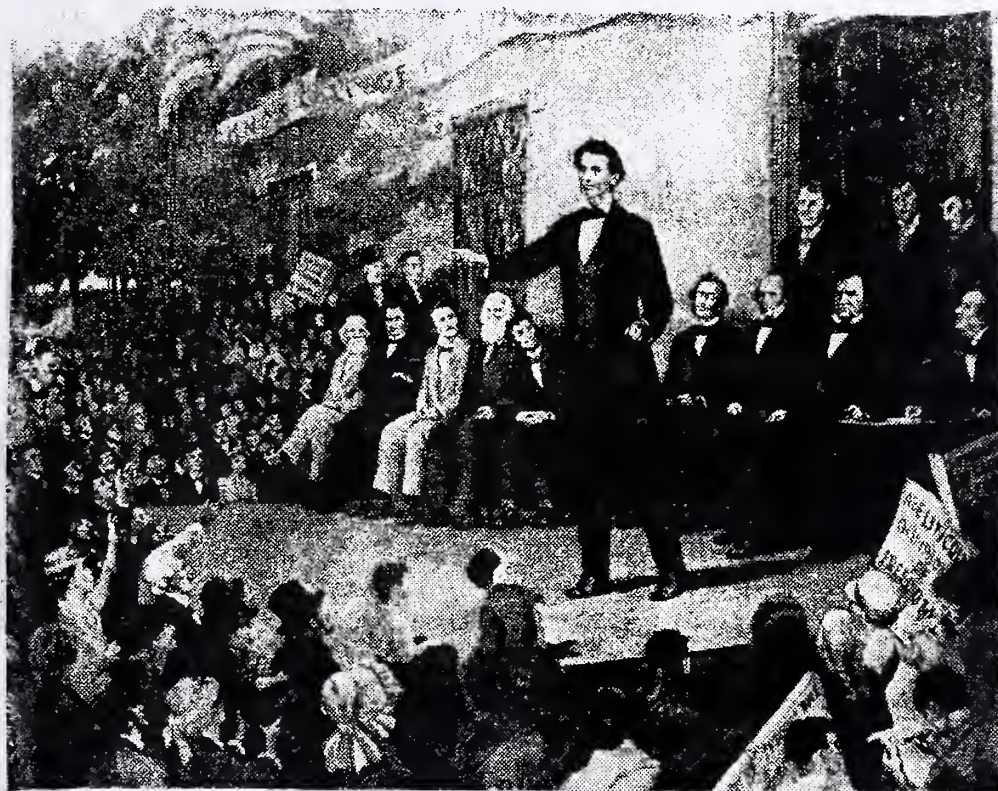
(TRIBUNE Staff Photos)

The towering Douglas monument, where the program took place.

Gov. Kerner yesterday praised Stephen A. Douglas as a man whose career was marked by many political achievements in addition to his defense of the "states rights" beliefs in debates with Abraham Lincoln.

Speaking at a ceremony marking the 150th anniversary of Sen. Douglas's birth at his tomb at the east end of 35th street, Kerner cited Douglas's successes with "internal improvements, the Illinois Central railroad, and educational projects."

Tho he courageously defended his position in the debates with Lincoln, Douglas supported the constitution and the preservation of the union when the Civil War threatened, Kerner said.



One of the Great Debates. Douglas, hand on table, awaits chance to answer Lincoln.

BUT DOUGLAS was more occupied with national affairs in Washington. Among the many territorial bills he introduced, the Kansas-Nebraska bill of 1854 had perhaps the most far-reaching effect.

In this bill, Douglas advocated popular sovereignty for the new territories of Kansas

and Nebraska or for any future territories, meaning that their peoples could decide whether they wanted to be free or slave states.

The suggestion pleased the South but infuriated the anti-slavery northerners. Among the northerners against the bill was the tall, gaunt Lincoln, who, since his defeat for reelection to Congress in 1849, had been out of politics.

But now Lincoln re-entered the scene, delivering many speeches against the Kansas-Nebraska bill. After the Republican Party was organized

in Illinois on a strong anti-slavery basis, he became its candidate for senator against Douglas in 1858.

It was at the start of this campaign, when both Lincoln and Douglas delivered opening speeches to Chicagoans from the balcony of the Tremont House, that the Springfield lawyer challenged Douglas to a series of debates on the slavery issue to be staged in downstate Illinois towns. The result: The famous Great Debates.

members of the Civil War Centennial commissions of Chicago and Illinois, as well as of the Civil War Round Table and the Sons and Daughters of Union Veterans, will gather in the Douglas Monument State Park at the foot of 35th St. to observe the sesquicentennial of Douglas' birth. Among the speakers will be Gov. Otto Kerner and Mayor Richard J. Daley.

If Lincoln did not win the senatorial contest, he was now, thanks to the widely publicized debates, a national personality. He was invited to speak at the Cooper Union Institute in New York and at various places in New England. And then there was talk that he was available as Republican candidate for President in the 1860 campaign.

* * *

PERHAPS the most memorable impression of Sen. Douglas as a man and as Lincoln's former opponent was his appearance among the dignitaries on the speaker's platform when Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861. At the moment Lincoln was sworn into office, Douglas stood just back of him, holding the new President's famous black stovepipe hat.

Douglas came out strongly against secession and loyally supported President Lincoln and the Union cause. But his work was cut short by an attack of typhoid fever. He died in Chicago June 3, 1861.

At 10:30 a.m. this Tuesday,



The Douglas Monument,
35th St. and Lake Park.



Lincoln Lore

August, 1973

Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor, Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

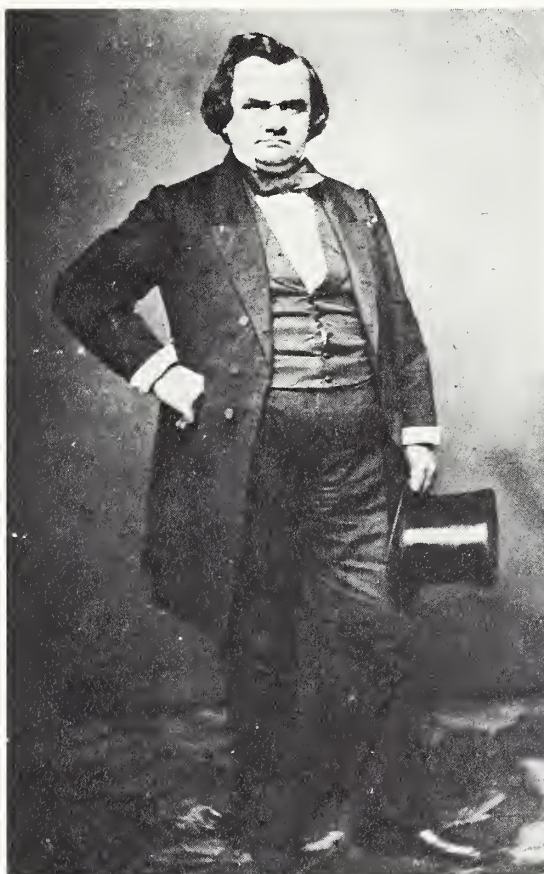
Number 1626

ROBERT W. JOHANNSEN ON STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS A REVIEW

In the preface to *Stephen A. Douglas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), Robert W. Johannsen observes—by way of explaining the difficulties involved in writing a biography of a man who was “not introspective”—that “in Douglas’ story is revealed the America in which he lived.” Nevertheless, Johannsen’s is not a sweeping reinterpretation of the causes of the Civil War with Douglas as merely a handy focal point like George Fort Milton’s earlier (1934) biography, *The Eve of Conflict: Stephen A. Douglas and the Needles War*. Johannsen does focus primarily upon the issues of sectional conflict, devoting two-thirds of the book to treatment of the last eleven years of Douglas’s life (from the Compromise of 1850 to the early days of the Civil War), but Douglas is always front-and-center in the book.

Even though Johannsen’s new biography does not bristle with the contentious language of self-conscious revisionism, it can by no means be said that the book eschews interpretation for objectivity and non-controversial, straightforward narrative. Reviewers who say so were simply fooled, and one would do well to take the advertisements for the book, which have featured blurbs from reviewers who term it “objective” and “magisterial,” with a grain of salt.

In a field so saturated with books and articles as the history of the events leading to the American Civil War, the very choice of subject matter itself often betrays interpretive assumptions. The era of greatest interest in Douglas began, ironically, in 1928 with the publication of a Lincoln biography—Albert Beveridge’s. The hero of that biography was Douglas and not Lincoln. Douglas’s heroic stature was increased by Milton’s above-mentioned book in 1934 and did not begin to diminish until the late 1940’s, when Allan Nevins found Doug-



From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

Stephen A. Douglas was born in 1813 and died in 1861. In his forty-eight years he enjoyed an almost unbelievably successful career. His mother was widowed when Stephen was but an infant, and his early years were not easy. In 1833, he left New York for the West, eventually settling in Jacksonville, Illinois. Douglas became a lawyer and a supreme court judge before he was twenty-eight. In 1843, he won an election for a seat in the United States Congress. In December of 1847, he took his seat as United States Senator from Illinois. In the same year he established residence in Chicago and became closely identified with that city’s commercial prospects. He played a key role in delivering the votes that brought about the Compromise of 1850. From that time on, he was a major contender for the Democratic nomination for President, achieving that goal in 1860, but his own Kansas-Nebraska Act (1854) occasioned the birth of the party that defeated him in that historic election.

las “morally obtuse” on the slavery question. In these years (and after as well) the lion’s share of historical effort in the area of the coming of the Civil War went into study of the Democratic party and Stephen Douglas in the 1850’s. The assumption that lay behind much of this effort was basically nationalistic: the Civil War was bad because it threatened to kill the nation, and what was interesting was to study the last national institution—the Democratic party—to see who tried heroically to keep it together and malevolently or narrowly-mindedly to destroy it. Within this frame of reference, those who compromised to save the Democratic party and the nation from sectional split were heroes; there was something wrong with those who let their abstract moral principles (whether they be pro- or anti-slavery) obscure the overall purpose of saving the nation. With those assumptions one would naturally be drawn to Stephen Douglas, who, as Holman Hamilton showed in 1954, did more than the Great Compromiser himself, Henry Clay, to save the nation as early as the Compromise of 1850.

Certainly much of Johannsen’s interpretive framework stems from that “needless war” school of historians who wrote during the 1930’s. “His interests were national,” says Johannsen of Douglas in the Preface, “and this fact shaped everything he said and did.” Douglas died, he adds, “as his beloved country stood on the threshold of bloody civil war, a casualty of the conflict just as surely as if he had been struck down on the battlefield.” Throughout the book, Johannsen pictures Douglas as a “pragmatist” bent on compromise (Milton used the term “realist” to mean the same thing). Douglas’s political enemies, at least on the slavery question, espouse “abstract” issues or reveal interest in merely “theoretical rights” (Milton’s villains indulged their interest

in "slogans" or "constitutional interpretations," "mystic claims of innate rights, looking on Liberty as a spontaneous creation and asserting rights unconnected with responsibilities," and "metaphysic contemplation of the Federal Constitution"). Johannsen's language is more restrained than Milton's, and he certainly never broaches the concept of a "needless" Civil War, but Milton is still his intellectual ancestor.

The broad interpretive scheme of the book, then, is at least forty years old, and even the general outlines of the biographical scheme are not new. Douglas is pictured as an ambitious politician. Adept at the arts of compromise, even he cannot keep the ardent sectionalists together over the issue of slavery expansion. When push comes to shove, Douglas does not confuse compromise with truckling, and there is an especial grandeur to his career after 1857 and his break with the Buchanan administration (even Nevins admired Douglas's career from this point on). This is the way Johannsen describes Douglas's break with the Buchanan administration on the Kansas issue:

He had been forced as never before to confront the full meaning of the principles on which he stood. His leadership in the party had been placed in jeopardy, but he now appeared before the people as a champion of principle, a role to which he was not altogether accustomed. Douglas found the altered image appealing, and in this sense the Lecompton crisis was a turning point in his career. He became more openly and unabashedly a defender of principle, struggling for popular sovereignty and the Union against increasingly vicious attacks from all sides. Less inclined to compromise than before, he was a man under fire, and the struggle brought out his best qualities.

Douglas grew in the new role, campaigning as much against break up of the Union as for his own candidacy in the 1860 Presidential election and giving the Republicans so much support after secession that he endangered his distinguishability as a Democrat.

Johannsen did not set out to change the landscape of American middle-period historiography or even to alter the basic outlines of Douglas biography. But within his rather old-fashioned scheme Johannsen provides a lucid, subtle, and careful detailing of Douglas's career (I say "career" rather than "life" because the man was so secretive about his inner feelings that he defies biography). Johannsen's choice not to tell the reader what he is doing, but simply to do it, not only creates the air of magisterial objectivity about the book but often makes it difficult for the reader not fresh from an immersion in the previous literature of factional disputes in the Pierce administration or the various controversies surrounding the origins of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to plow through the details without stifling a yawn or two. But to prove that it is all well worth it, I got out the best single treatment of the Kansas-Nebraska Act to date (Roy F. Nichols's article "The Kansas-Nebraska Act: A Century of Historiography" in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* for 1954) and did some comparing. The results were worth the effort.

To remove some of the historical blame placed on Douglas for authoring the Kansas-Nebraska Act, revoking the Missouri Compromise, and exacerbating sectional animosities, Nichols simply removed Douglas from center-stage and pictured the Kansas-Nebraska Act as the victim of powerful forces rather than Douglas's own unfortunate brain child. Earlier attempts to exonerate Douglas had left him in the most important role in the formulation of the bill but had attempted to clarify and justify his personal motives. To refute the obvious charge that Douglas had sold out to the slave-power in exchange for Southern support for the Democratic nomination for President in 1856, Milton (for one) noted that Douglas's failure to get the nomination in 1852 had stemmed from lack of support from his own Northwest, not from lack of Southern delegates' votes. Others had tried to say his motives had nothing to do with sectional issues but a great deal to do with his personal interests in railroad development in the West.

Nichols argued that Douglas was the victim of powerful political forces he could not control. The failure of a bill to organize Nebraska in the 1853 session of Congress showed that Douglas needed four Southern votes in the Senate to get the measure through. He faced a compli-

cated situation in his own party. President Franklin Pierce felt that the Democrats had regained the Presidency in 1852 because the Democrats who bolted the party over the slavery expansion issue in 1848 (principally, a New York faction called the Barnburners) had come back to the Democratic fold in 1852. Pierce felt obliged to let them share the federal patronage. To other Democrats, especially those from the South, it looked as though Pierce was rewarding disloyal Democrats who had sabotaged the party in 1848. Loyal New York Democrats (called Hard-shells, because they were not "soft" on the issue of admitting previously disloyal Democrats to the patronage) were so upset over the policy that the party split in New York and gave the governorship to a Whig in 1853. The powerful Southern senators who controlled the votes Douglas needed to pass the bill and who lived together in a Washington boarding house on F Street needed an issue to test the loyalty of the 1848 bolters who had rejoined the party. Reasoning that the principles of the Compromise of 1850 would be good for Nebraska if they were good for Utah and New Mexico and finding that Missouri's Senator Atchison had promised in his campaign for reelection to organize the Nebraska territory with slavery as a live option, the F Street group decided to make repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which would have excluded slavery from Nebraska, the test of the Barnburners' loyalty. The whole group met with President Pierce and Douglas on the Sunday before the bill would come to vote (unusual because Pierce never transacted business on Sundays) and altered the bill to organize Nebraska so that it specifically repealed the Missouri Compromise and so that it included a provision to organize two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, the one beside a slave state (Missouri) and the other by a free state, to give it a greater air of sectional compromise. Douglas was powerless to resist, and his bill was the work of many hands besides his own. Such were the origins of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill as Nichols explained them.

Johannsen's very careful analysis significantly alters that picture which has stood for nearly twenty years. Johannsen restores Douglas to the preeminent role in the genesis of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In part his case rests on a slender foundation, a statement in a letter Douglas wrote in 1852 expressing his intention to "repeal altogether that compromise." Nichols claimed the letter was not genuine, and here Johannsen fails for once to be "magisterial" in his treatment, noting in a footnote only that the content of the letter is controversial without any discussion of the merits of the case one way or another. However, his case rests on several other pieces of evidence. For one thing, Douglas had for several years thought that popular sovereignty—allowing the people in the territories themselves rather than Congress to decide the slavery question—was the proper principle for the organization of new territories. Nevertheless, the original Nebraska bill of the 1853 session had assumed that the Missouri Compromise would apply; it was the law of the land and need not be reiterated just because the principle had not been extended to some new territories acquired since the Louisiana Purchase (the Missouri Compromise forbade slavery above the line of 36°30' latitude in the territory acquired from France). As early as December 17, 1853, Douglas expressed his hope in a letter that "all will be willing to sanction and affirm the principle established by the Compromise measures of 1850" in the new territory, showing that he expected the bill in the new session of Congress to go by the principles of 1850 and not of 1820. This statement came but three days after the Nebraska bill was under consideration in Douglas's territorial committee in the Senate.

The report Douglas submitted with the bill that came out of committee on January 4, 1854, drew a careful analogy to the Compromise of 1850. That Compromise had not been a convenience or necessity, but an establishment of "great principles" to settle the territorial question without agitation in Congress about slavery. The new Nebraska bill would allow the state to come in slave or free as its constitution prescribed. The territorial legislature before that date was granted the power to legislate on all save certain enumerated subjects, and slavery was *not* enumerated. Previous to the action of the territorial legislature on slavery, the Missouri Compromise would be in effect in the territory, just as

Mexican law (which outlawed slavery) had been in effect in the lands acquired from Mexico after the Mexican War. Congress had declined to state explicitly that Mexican law would be in effect in 1850, and "so your committee," Douglas's report said in 1854, "are not prepared now to recommend a departure from the course pursued on that memorable occasion, either by affirming or repealing the 8th section of the Missouri act" [the section prohibiting slavery above the line 36°30']. William Seward knew immediately what this meant, writing in a letter on January 4 that Douglas had gone "as far as the Democrats dare, toward abolishing that provision of the Missouri Compromise which devoted all the new regions purchased from France, north of the line of 36°30', to freedom." Douglas said later: "It was written by myself, at my own house, with no man present." If Johannsen is right, then the early 1853 version was the "aberration," as he puts it, and not the 1854 version. Douglas meant to replace the principles of the Missouri Compromise all along.

Johannsen adds many other subtle embellishments to the argument. Fully aware that Douglas's political troubles were in his own backyard and not in the South, Johannsen further exonerates Douglas from the charge of truckling to the slave interests by arguing that Douglas assumed—even stated explicitly on rare occasions—that westward expansion was *ipso facto* expansion of freedom. Douglas had come very close to saying this (and to saying it was a good thing) in a speech he made in 1850. Douglas said flatly that there could be no slavery in the West because of soil and climate conditions and the will of the settlers there. More important, he expressed a hope that the border states and states of the upper South would soon free their slaves through a program of gradual emancipation. At a later date Douglas would avoid even such an indirect public endorsement of freedom as this, but Johannsen does not rest his contention on this evidence alone.

Johannsen also suggests that Douglas advanced guarantees of his own, in addition to nature's guarantees of soil and climate, that slavery would never take root in the American West. As he puts it, "to Douglas, Nebraska Territory was not an isolated question, but was rather a part of a larger program for western development which he had been urging for many years." In the first place, the Pacific railroads that Douglas had been advocating to unite California and the rest of the United States would, of course, bring commerce in their wake and cities too—economic and social conditions that were not conducive to slave labor (incidentally, these would also bring prosperity to Douglas's home constituency, Illinois). Second, Douglas's advocacy of free homesteads for settlers in the West would "attract settlement by small independent farmers," a social class hostile to a system of slave labor. These two factors are especially convincing when taken into account along with Douglas's apparent belief that the Missouri Compromise would remain in effect until the territorial legislature decided what should be done about slavery. In other words, slavery would be excluded up to the point in time when the territorial legislature made its decision. Obviously, there would be no slaveholders in that legislature to advocate the legalization of the peculiar institution.

If anything, Johannsen's point here is more important than his careful selection of quotations from Seward and Douglas and his careful attention to the chronology of these remarks in the development of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, for it is this point that *completely* reverses Nichols's contention. Johannsen sees Douglas not as the compromising victim of the aggressions of the "F Street Mess," as the group was called, and of the factional feuds in the Democratic party which he did not create, but rather as the effective proponent of a grand plan for the American West. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill is seen not as the patchwork quilt of compromise to satisfy the many hands that shaped it, but as the slightly modified practical instrumentation of a plan—the application of Douglas's ideals to the West. The Bill is the embodiment of an ideology and not the crazy quilt of pluralistic compromise.

Johannsen adds other careful embellishments to the story of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. For example, he points out that although William Seward claimed having a role in suggesting the Dixon amendment which finally specifically repealed the Missouri Compromise (as a

machiavellian measure to split Northern from Southern Democrats), Mrs. Dixon could not recall Seward's role. Johannsen also points out that the decision to split the territory into two areas, Kansas and Nebraska, had nothing to do with sectional issues. The representatives of the settlers already in Nebraska Territory petitioned for two territories. Moreover, Iowa's senators pressed for the division because they feared that the capital and the avenues of commerce from the new territory would otherwise fall south of Iowa's latitude.

Johannsen's alterations and embellishments of the traditional picture of the Kansas-Nebraska Act will provoke new scholarship, I am sure, and I am sure also that this could be said of many of Johannsen's treatments of episodes in Douglas's important career. It is in these respects rather than in the broad interpretive scheme that Johannsen's book will prove most stimulating, indeed, absolutely indispensable.

But the weaknesses of the overall scheme are nagging. If Douglas is to be seen as implementing an overall plan in the Kansas-Nebraska Act, then Douglas's ideology deserves a more searching treatment than Johannsen gives it. Yet Johannsen is prevented by his acceptance of the general compromiser-vs.-ideologue scheme from seeking the answer to the question of Douglas's sincere beliefs. To be sure, even a writer setting out to answer that question alone would be severely hampered by Douglas's lack of "introspection." But Johannsen leaves two avenues of approach still to be explored: (1) the relationship between Douglas's early "Jacksonian convictions" and his more familiar efforts at compromise and Unionism in the 1850's and (2) the images and patterns of belief to be gleaned from a close rhetorical study of Douglas's political speeches.

Johannsen does make some effort in the latter area, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that in the course of his very thorough narrative of Douglas's political career, Johannsen gives enough glimpses of Douglas's language to allow a reader to piece together at least the rough outlines of a Douglas ideology. Indeed, Johannsen himself makes a major connection between Douglas's vision of foreign policy and his view of domestic policy. The two boiled down to one word, expansion—expansion as fast as possible and with the least amount of introspective attention to festering problems in the society already established in the eastern part of the United States. The model of republican liberty for the world, the United States could best serve the cause of freedom by growing outwardly. It was a simple quantitative argument: the more United States there was, the more freedom there was in the world. Douglas recognized no historical debt to the past in his vision of a country unique for the degree of liberty it granted its citizens. "I cannot recognize England as our mother," Johannsen quotes Douglas as saying about 1850. "If so, she is and ever has been a cruel and unnatural mother." This fit Douglas's foreign policy, which was always anti-English (and which in turn met his personal needs as a Democrat who always gained support from the anti-English Irishmen who worked on the railroads and canals in Illinois). It fit his position on sectional issues (he blamed abolitionism on English inspiration). And it fit his traditional allegiance to the Democratic party on domestic economic issues (Jacksonians traditionally contrasted, as Douglas put it, the "youthful, uprising aspirations of the American heart" with the "old, antiquated notions which belong to the stationary and retrograde movements of the Old World" in a symbolic clash between aristocracy and "the people" which began with the American Revolution and continued in the party battles of Whigs and Democrats). The Kansas-Nebraska Bill was a microcosm of Douglas's whole policy: American expansion meant expansion of freedom.

That is, it meant expansion of freedom for white people: Douglas said repeatedly that he cared more for the Union than for all the members of the African race put together. Johannsen does not hide or even soft-pedal this well-known aspect of Douglas's Democratic ideology, but it fails to provide Johannsen with even a minor theme in the book. Nonetheless, racism is as clearly a common denominator for Douglas's ideology as expansion of freedom.

To say so bluntly is to tie Douglas's grand plan up into an even neater bundle than Johannsen's rubric of "advancing the area of freedom." It also alerts the reader

to another strikingly old-fashioned aspect of Johannsen's interpretive scheme. Stephen Douglas, as chairman of the Senate's Committee on Territories and as author and chief sponsor of many of the territorial bills, certainly must have had considerable occasion to deal with the Indian question. Yet Indians are mentioned only in asides. In one brief episode, we are given Douglas's ideas on Indians, and they did not stray far from the old dictum that the only good one was a dead one. In 1859, Douglas urged that Congress recognize a government set up by miners who had encroached on Indian territory. After all, Douglas said, the Indians "are fading away before the advance of civilization like snow before the vernal sun." Nor was this policy based on matters of fact (analogous to his argument that the territories would not support slavery no matter what Northerners or Southerners desired); Douglas said the Indians constituted nothing but "barriers of barbarism, of savage ferocity" and must be removed from blocking white progress.

Even if Douglas's Western expansionism constituted a policy of *de facto* expansion of freedom, his advocacy of expansion in the southern latitudes was a different matter. Expansion to Cuba and other areas of Latin America was avidly sought by the pro-slavery interests because it would provide areas (unlike the American West) which could and did support the institution of slavery. Douglas never argued that slavery would ultimately be extinct in America, and it would not be stretching things to say that his support of expansion to Cuba and Nicaragua was a policy of expansion of the area of slavery. In addition, Douglas's foreign policy was imperialism, plain and simple—in other words, it meant reduction of freedom for the occupants of Latin American countries, as expansion in the North did for Indians and in the South for Negroes. Douglas usually cloaked his imperialism in language of peaceful expansion and promises of eventual assimilation under the American Constitution. Nonetheless, when opportunity knocked, Douglas endorsed any methods. Thus he supported Robert Walker's filibustering takeover of Nicaragua in 1856, saying that he offered the "firmest and most stable" government the country had ever had. Once the Nicaraguans were "thoroughly Americanized," then the country would be annexed. The interim system would have to be imperialistic rule. Later, in 1858, Douglas suggested that the only way to acquire Cuba was not to try to buy it from Spain but to await some incident justifying forcible seizure of the island. All in all, Douglas's ideology—his grand plan—was one of imperialistic expansion at the expense of Negro, Indian, and Latin American freedom.

The above constitutes only a different emphasis on materials that are all present in Johannsen's comprehensive treatment of Douglas's life. Considerations of Douglas's debt to the Jacksonian beliefs of his early career, however, are largely wanting in the book. It is unclear how thorough-going a Jacksonian Douglas was in his economic beliefs. At one point, Johannsen pictures Douglas as a "whole-hog" Jacksonian critic of "milk-and-cider" Jacksonians. Yet Douglas's hard-money views were loose enough to allow him to advocate state banks of issue to supply credit for the Illinois land boom in the 1830's. Douglas's course of beliefs on internal improvements was likewise twisty. To speak simply of his "Jacksonian convictions" begs the question all the readers want to know: what kind of a Jacksonian was he? Were his beliefs closest to John C. Calhoun's, Martin Van Buren's, Andrew Jackson's, or Lewis Cass's? Did he go in for extreme appeals to economic discontent in his speeches? These and many other questions about Douglas's early political beliefs—including that of the source of his very early opposition to abolition despite his early years in upper New York State's "burned-over district"—remain largely unanswered by Johannsen's disappointing treatment of Douglas's first thirty-five years. The area clearly deserves more exploration, especially in light of the known power of Whig ideology over Abraham Lincoln's beliefs.

By slighting Douglas's ideology, Johannsen allows confusion about important matters. For example, Johannsen feels that Douglas was an "antislavery" man. There are two principal reasons: (1) Douglas's policy was one of the expansion of the area of freedom, and (2) Douglas consistently battled Southern extremists on issues that arose in Congress. The latter is an element of the story

we too often forget; about the former I have expressed some doubts already. And I question Johannsen's references to Douglas's "general antislavery stance" (page 299) or to Douglas as a man "opposed to the institution of slavery" (page 583).

The only solid piece of evidence in regard to Douglas's personal and private views of slavery stems from a reminiscence (after Douglas's death and after the Civil War) by a personal friend, Major George Murray McConnell. McConnell recalled a conversation he had with Douglas when the Illinois senator was upset over the opposition of Northern Democrats to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854. "I am not pro-slavery," said Douglas. "I think it is a curse beyond computation, to both white and black." Johannsen says there is no reason to suspect that Major McConnell's recall was faulty.

Yet there is much in Douglas's public record to make us wonder about Major McConnell's memory. Douglas did not, it is true, serve the interests of slavery expansion in the Kansas-Nebraska episode. He did not believe that slavery was the natural condition of the black race; he said repeatedly, as Johannsen shows, that the role of the Negro was to be determined by the whites locally, and that role could be any that was consistent with the safety and welfare of the local area. He was not pro-slavery, then, in the sense that he thought it was so good a system that it should be spread wherever possible.

On the other hand, whether he can be termed "anti-slavery" is another matter. His beliefs seem to have tended to the position that slavery was best where large numbers of blacks resided and freedom best where the society was racially homogeneous. Douglas said as much at least once (in 1860): "If I were a citizen of Louisiana I would vote for retaining and maintaining slavery, because I believe the good of that people would require it. As a citizen of Illinois I am utterly opposed to it, because our interests would not be promoted by it." If it be objected that this was a public stance of a man who desired the Presidency, then one could point to at least as good an index of Douglas's private opinions as McConnell's reminiscence: Douglas's personal dealings with Negroes.

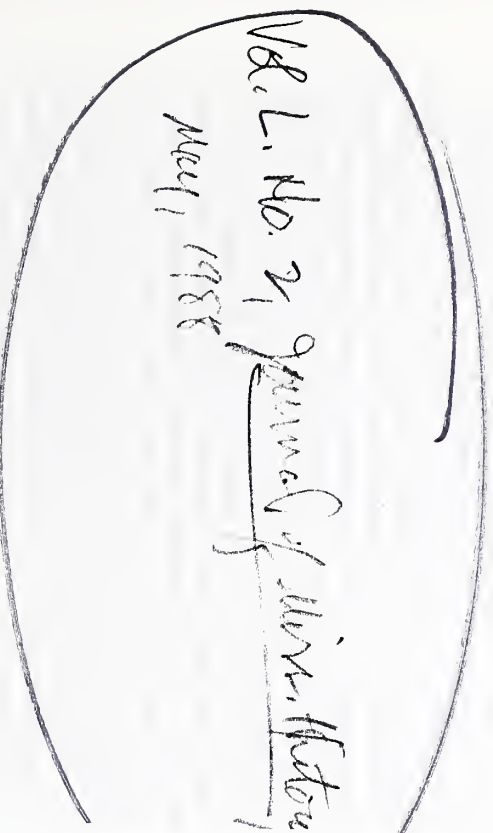
In 1848, Douglas's father-in-law died, leaving a Mississippi plantation and over 100 slaves to his daughter, Douglas's wife. By Mississippi law, the property of a married woman was her own and could not be controlled by her husband. The will made Douglas "manager" of the estate in exchange for 20 per cent of its annual income. Douglas hired an overseer and corresponded with him regularly about the plantation, though Douglas did not "manage" it directly. Despite some advice to the contrary, Douglas never divested himself of the direct connection to the slave property. When faced with a practical choice, Douglas acted consistently with his apparent belief that slavery was best where blacks were numerous. Once again, all this information (and much more) is in Johannsen's comprehensive book, allowing the reader on occasion to arrive at conclusions different from Johannsen's own.

There are many answers in Johannsen's book to questions about Douglas's later years, and these are the more important years of his life—years when he became probably the most important and charismatic personality in the Democratic party. To discuss only the Kansas-Nebraska issue in detail, as I have done here, and to ignore the multitude of other similarly judicious and detailed treatments of complicated political issues, while criticizing certain features of the book, considerably underestimates its virtues. It is an indispensable book for students of the middle period of American history, for students interested in Lincoln (for there is no understanding the one man without understanding the other), and for those interested in Stephen A. Douglas. The reader should be cautious, however, in accepting Johannsen's belief that Douglas was "a representative man," "a man of his times," and a man who "had a feel for the nation that few others could boast." Douglas represented *some* Americans. But no man of such nebulous religious convictions and such oblivious resistance to social reform despite a personal background of life in a part of the country burned over by repeated religious revivals and crusades for moral reform represented *all* of America before the Civil War.

- Wiegins, comp., *From Civil War to Civil Rights, Alabama 1860-1960: An Anthology from the Alabama Review* By JOHN MARSZALEK 120
- Woodward, *Thinking Back: The Perils of Writing History* By THOMAS A. UNDERWOOD 121

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Martin

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Stephen Arnold Douglas—His Mississippi Experience

by Anita Clinton

In his valiant effort to obtain a national consensus, Stephen Arnold Douglas sought throughout his political career a middle ground between the extremists, both north and south. Douglas's policies have been analyzed thoroughly, his positions dissected, and the pros and cons of his actions debated. A more private side of his life, however—his experiences with plantations in Lawrence and Washington counties, Mississippi—has not been closely dealt with by historians. Douglas's involvement with these plantations during much of his public life, from 1848 until his death in 1861, reveal an important dimension of the man that has heretofore been ignored.

Previously unpublished materials, including court records from Lawrence and Washington counties; letters from Douglas's Lawrence County plantation manager, James S. Strickland; and depositions of his sons, Robert Martin Douglas and Stephen A. Douglas, are primary sources that depict a man who, though a consummate politician, was not infallible in his personal affairs.

This record of events lends itself to a variety of interpretations: that, to Douglas, "saving the nation" was worth any price; that Douglas was consumed by overwhelming ambition; or that he was a man destroyed by circumstances beyond his control.

How Senator Stephen A. Douglas, the senator from Illinois, came to have the responsibility for a 3,000-acre plantation in Mississippi is an interesting and familiar story. In 1843 Douglas, an able and energetic political figure in Illinois, was elected to the United States House of Representatives. Shortly after he arrived in Washington, he formed a fast friendship with his House seat-mate from North Carolina, David Settle Reid. Early in the spring of 1844, Reid's uncle, Colonel Robert Martin, also from North Carolina, visited the capital with his daughters, Martha and Lucinda. Douglas was especially attracted to Martha, a girl of charm, wit, and beauty, who found him equally appealing. After three years, their courtship culminated in marriage on April 7, 1847.¹

ANITA CLINTON has taught history in the public schools and is president of the Lawrence County Historical Society.

¹George Fort Milton, *The Eve of Conflict, Stephen A. Douglas and the Needless War* (New York, 1969), hereinafter cited as Milton, *Eve of Conflict*, 34.

An Incident in the Life of Douglas.

Those of our readers who may imagine that the bigotry and intolerance which characterized the Republican party during the war was merely an outgrowth of modern times, are very much mistaken. The class of men who direct the fortunes of Radicalism have ever been the same.—Hatred of all opinions except their own, intemperate opposition towards all of differing faith, and a zeal to crush down by passion, ridicule and social influence what they could not defeat by argument, have from the first been their distinguishing peculiarities. As a proof of what we assert, we copy the following incident in the life of Stephen A. Douglas, which occurred immediately after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. It is copied from a work written by J. Madison Cutts, Esq., Mr. Douglas' father-in-law, and is given in the latter gentleman's language. The scene of the occurrence was in Chicago, at that time Mr. Douglas' home:

"When I returned to Chicago, I was met at Buffalo by a friend, who brought letters from other friends at Chicago, protesting against my return, and warning me that I would be inevitably killed if I did. I insisted upon going, and did so.—I arrived there in the morning, went to my hotel, and after a few days, three or four, issued a notice of a speech to be made by me in front of North Market Hall. All the newspapers in the city denounced me, and published daily articles encouraging personal violence, reminding the people that in 1850, on the passage of the Compromise Measures, I had returned and succeeded in quelling an outbreak against those measures, and that this thing could not be done a second time.—Know Nothingism had, pending the Nebraska bill, been organized in the United States for the first time, and in Chicago the anti-Nebraska men had organized into Know Nothing lodges, and probably included within those lodges nine-tenths of all the men in the city. It was ascertained that they secretly determined and bound themselves by their oaths not to allow me to speak; and it is known that one of these thirty or forty lodges ordered by telegraph, and received by express from New York, the night before I was to speak, two hundred and fifty of Colt's revolvers.

"When the day arrived, the flags were hung at half mast on the shipping in the harbor, and for several hours before the time appointed all the church bells in the city were tolled, at which signal the mob assembled in a force of about ten thousand. I had forty or fifty men who pretended to be with me privately, but not half a dozen were so openly—they were all afraid. At the appointed hour I repaired to the meeting and went upon the stand, and was greeted by that unearthly yell taught and practiced in the Know Nothing lodges—a howl no man can imi-

tate. I stood and looked at the mob until the howling ceased. When they ceased I commenced by saying, that 'I appear before you to-night for the purpose of vindicating the Kansas-Nebraska Act.' Before the sentence was ended the howl began again. When it ceased I would begin, and as soon as I commenced it was renewed. At times I appealed to their pride, as the champion of free speech, for a hearing; the howl was renewed; at other times I would denounce them as a set of cowards, who came armed with bowie-knives and pistols to put down one man unarmed—afraid to hear the truth spoken, lest there might be some honest men among them who would be convinced.

"At one time I got a hearing for ten or fifteen minutes, and was evidently making an impression upon the crowd, when there marched in from the outside a body of three or four hundred men with red shirts, dressed as sailors, and thoroughly armed, who moved through the crowd immediately in front, and peremptorily ordered me to leave. I stood and looked at them until they ceased yelling, and then denounced them, and put them at

defiance, and dared them to shoot an unarmed man. The pistols began to fire all around the outside of the crowd, evidently into the air; eggs and stones were thrown at the stand, several of them hitting men who were near me, and for several hours this wild confusion and fury continued. The wonder is, that amid that vast excited crowd no one was so far excited or maddened as to fire a ball at me.—The stand was crowded with my enemies, reporters and newspaper men, and this was undoubtedly my best protection. I stood upon the front of the stand, in the midst of that confusion, from 8 o'clock in the evening until a quarter past twelve at night, when I suddenly drew my watch from my pocket, looked at it in front of the crowd, and in a distant tone of voice said, at an interval of silence: 'It is now Sunday morning—I'll go to church and you may go to hell!' and I retired amid the uproar, got into my carriage and rode to my hotel. The crowd followed the carriage, and came near throwing it off the bridge into the river as we crossed.—They had seized it for that purpose, and lifted it, but the driver whipped his horses violently, and dashed through and over them, and went to the Tremont House, where I retired to my room. The mob, at least 5,000, followed and commenced their howls in Lake street, fronting my room. The landlord begged me to leave the house, fearing they would burn it up, whereupon I raised my window, walked out on the balcony, took a good look at them, and told them that the day would come when they would hear me, and then bade them good night."

ACKLEY, DR. HORACE

Ex-Akron Doctor Saved Douglas' Debating Voice

Without Operation Lincoln Might Never Have Had Famed Opponent To Aid Fame

(Courtesy of Walter Morrow, Editor of the Columbus Citizen)

for want of a nail the shoe was lost; for want of a shoe the horse was lost; and for want of a horse the rider was lost.

—Poor Richard's Almanac, 1757

IF THERE HAD NOT BEEN a Dr. Horace Ackley in Cleveland in 1855 Stephen A. Douglas probably would have lost his voice or died. If Douglas had lost his voice there would have been no Lincoln-Douglas debates in 1858. If there had been no debates Abraham Lincoln quite probably would have remained an obscure country politician in 1860.

Without Lincoln the country might have been divided because some of the strongest Abolitionists wanted to let "our erring sisters go in peace." But the nail that saved the shoe and the horse and the rider was ready when needed. Ohio forged it. A tough, pioneer, whisky-loving surgeon named Ackley, who fought off mobs when he wanted to operate on human beings, was the nail.

Born in Genesee county, New York, in 1815, he began the practice of medicine in Akron in 1835. Soon he moved to Toledo, then to Willoughby, where he taught in the Willoughby Medical school, and then to Cleveland, where he held the chair of surgery in the Cleveland Medical college.

An ambidexterous, six-footer who feared nothing, brusque in manner yet gentle with the sick, he soon won a national reputation



DR. HORACE ACKLEY

by his daring and skill. This reputation brought a despairing "Little Giant" to his office in 1855, weary from 20 years of battle, beyond the skill of the practitioners Chicago offered at that time.

DOCTOR DID NOT FAIL

Ackley did not fail him. He performed what was for that day a daring and original throat operation. In a few weeks the "Little Giant" left for Washington, well on the road to recovery but still with a voice unequal to the demands made upon it in the United States senate.

Douglas, who like Dr. Ackley was not exactly a temperance man, had been under the care of Illinois physicians for some time. He had suffered a near breakdown as the result of his vigorous campaign against "Know Nothings" and Abolitionists who were after him because of his vote in favor of repealing the Missouri compromise of 1820.

Lincoln, whose political perception was better than that of Douglas, although Douglas was a national leader, knew that the "Little Giant" was in trouble. He wanted his seat in the senate and began testing arguments that would win it.

By 1858 Lincoln felt the time was ripe. He expected the win. Douglas had the, "Know Noth-

ings," the prohibitionists and the Abolitionists against him. Moreover, James Buchanan, who had broken with him on the Kansas question, was throwing all the weight of the national administration against him. Lincoln challenged Douglas to debate him and the party was on.

Lincoln lost to Douglas but the debates made him president. It is doubtful if any American politician ever put forth a stronger effort to win than Douglas did in the campaign of 1858. He never was better and when he was good no one could beat him. But in the course of the debates, Lincoln, who had been accused of dodging, took a stand.

He said, "No nation can endure half slave and half free." Many historians believe that the statement lost him the seat in the senate that he wanted.

At any rate Douglas went back to the senate and Lincoln took his place among the leaders of the new Republican party.

There are no medical records of the operations performed by Dr. Ackley. But Douglas left one of his friends, who knew about the incident, also left references to it. So the facts about the operation that saved the voice of Douglas so that the Lincoln-Douglas debates became possible are known in a general way.

COULD ONLY BOW

On Saturday, Oct. 27, 1855, Douglas was scheduled to speak at Paris, Ill. He was so hoarse and ill that he only could bow to the crowd. He was taken to the home of Dr. Ezra Reed at Terre Haute, Ind. He had paroxysms of coughing and was speechless for hours at a time.

George Fort Milton, in his "The Eve of Conquest," says that "his life was despaired of." Then the decision was made to take him to Dr. Ackley in Cleveland, where he remained for a month.

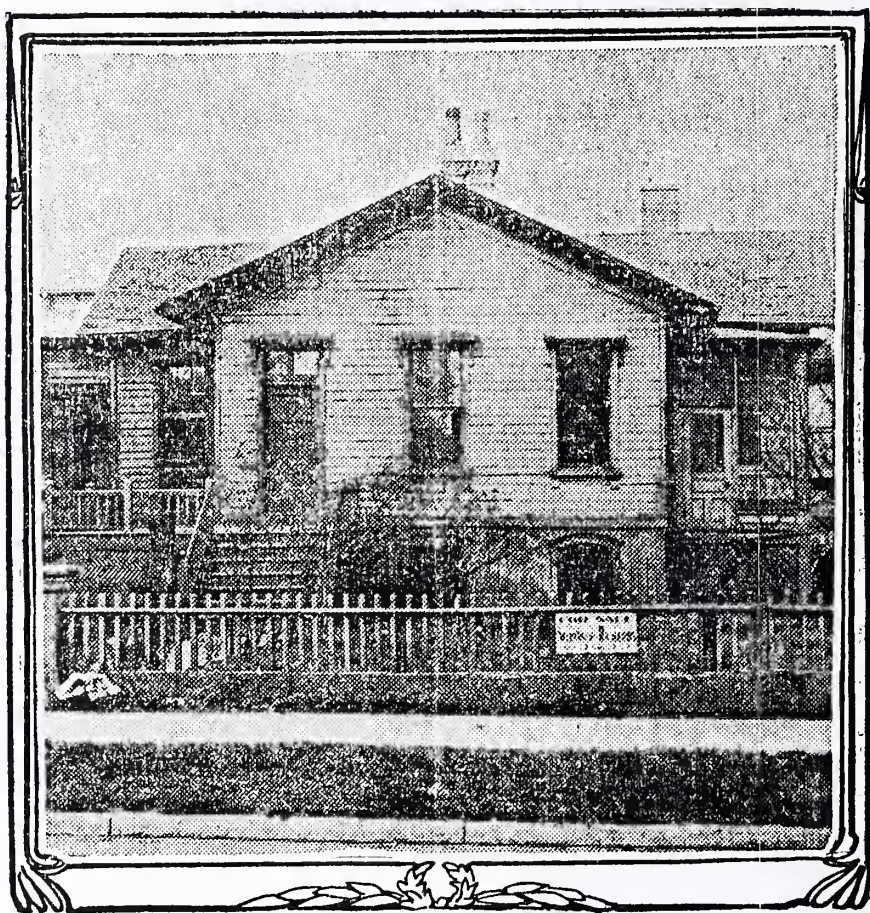
Ackley was the kind of man who blazed his own trails. His education was meager by modern standards but he was a scientist in the best meaning of the word and added to the sum of human knowledge by daring and skill.

Cleveland mobs often threatened him. On one occasion a crowd in Willoughby, angered by news that he was operating on human beings, went to the medical school. He calmly rolled out a small cannon and threatened to sweep the crowd with it unless it dispersed. It did.

He did not live to see Lincoln become president. Returning to Cleveland from Detroit by steamer in April, 1858, he suddenly became ill and died.

THE CHICAGO RECORD-

OLD HOME OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, THE "LITTLE GIANT," WHICH IS TO BE TORN DOWN.



THE ancient frame structure at 34 East Thirty-fifth street, known as the Douglas homestead, which is about to be torn down to make way for a modern flat building, was erected for Stephen A. Douglas, the "Little Giant," in the early '50s. Years before that time the famous orator and political antagonist of Abraham Lincoln had bought land along the lake shore, where he intended to build a home. Some of this land was bought from his widow by the state in order to provide a site for the Douglas monument. Other parts of the property were subdivided. He called his property "Oakenwald" and selected a pretty spot, surrounded by fine trees, for the site of his home. The structure is one and one-half stories high and consists of twelve rooms, with the kitchen and dining-room in the basement. It was in this home that Mr. Douglas formulated his plan for the famous debates with Lincoln. Seeberger & Richards, real estate agents for the property, which now belongs to the Herrick Stevens estate, declare the house is too old to be of any use.



THE STORY OF

F. A. Douglass

1813—1861

This Series Designed and Printed by the PRODUCTION PRESS, Inc., Jacksonville, Illinois



STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, patriot and statesman, began his meteoric career when he commenced the practice of law in Jacksonville in 1834. The same year he was appointed States Attorney. In 1836 Jacksonville sent him to the Legislature. He became Register of the Land Office, Springfield, in 1837, Secretary of State and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois in 1841. He was elected to Congress from the Quincy district in 1843 and in 1847 was elected United States Senator. He served as such until his death. In 1838 he was defeated for Congress in a large district by a mere handful of votes. He was a candidate for the Democratic nomina-

tion for the Presidency in 1852 and 1856, and in 1860 was nominated by the northern wing of his party and was defeated by Lincoln.

Douglas, with a genius for statesmanship, is a majestic figure in American history. In the Senate of Webster, Calhoun, and Clay he met the greatest on equal terms. His devotion was to the Constitution; his passion was the Union; he fought throughout his life for the Constitution; and, when Fort Sumpter was fired upon, he moved in all the panoply of his genius to the side of Lincoln to sustain him in the fight for the preservation of the Union. Rivalries of years dropped away and the two men planned together for the defense of the Republic. Douglas rallied the friends of the Republic everywhere and then worn and sick, he passed away.

The old Court House, Jacksonville.

In it Douglas, Edward D. Baker, James A. McDougall and Richard Yates, later United States Senators; Abraham Lincoln, John J. Hardin, John T. Stuart and William L. May, congressmen; Samuel D. Lockwood, long-time Justice of the Supreme Court; Josiah Lamborn, Attorney General of Illinois; Murray McConnel, David A. Smith, William Thomas, Cyrus Epler, and Isaac L. Morrison, practiced law.

(Historical Material prepared by Frank J. Heint)



Stories from Illinois History

NUMBER 5

DOUGLAS: THE LITTLE GIANT

By PHYLLIS CONNOLLY

Puffy white clouds floated lazily through the hot June sky on the day young Stephen Arnold Douglas left his home and family in New York state to seek fame, and possible fortune, in the West. The year was 1833; although only twenty years old, Stephen's ambitions knew no bounds. As he paused for a moment at the gate and turned to kiss his mother good-bye, she asked him, "When will you come back to see me?" Young Douglas replied, "On my way to Congress."

But Stephen Douglas did not intend to stop there. He had already decided that some day he would be President of the United States. He was impatient, too, this young Douglas. To get a start in politics, he knew, one should be a lawyer. But that took several years in New York state; he did not want to wait that long. In Cleveland, Ohio, he had heard, one could be admitted to the bar within a year. So, breaking his ties with the East (he had been born in Brandon, Vermont, and educated in Canandaigua, New York), he set out for the West—the land, he hoped, of opportunity.

On arriving in Cleveland, however, he was stricken with typhoid fever and spent the next four months in bed. After his recovery, Douglas decided to continue even farther west before settling down. His travels took him to Cincinnati, Louisville, and St. Louis before he finally stopped at Jacksonville, in Morgan County, Illinois. Here he was told that the town of Winchester, ten miles distant, wanted a teacher. Douglas, tired and poor, was happy to take any job that came his way and shortly found himself master of a school. In his spare time he read borrowed law books, and in March, 1834, the Illinois Supreme Court granted him a license to practice law. One month later, he turned twenty-one.

The young attorney soon discovered that clients were few in Jacksonville. He did not seem to mind much, however, for he found more agreeable ways of spending his time than in a stuffy office poring over dry and

dusty law books. Jacksonville was a fast-growing town, and Douglas liked to mingle with "the boys"—those recent arrivals from Kentucky and Tennessee who had come to farm the Illinois prairies. Under their influence Douglas quickly put away his eastern clothes for a pair of blue jeans and adopted the rough manners and the democratic politics of the frontiersman.

The Democratic party was older but more people in central Illinois at this time (1835) voted for the Whig party. The Democrats traced their beginnings to Thomas Jefferson and their popularity to the colorful General Andrew Jackson. "Old Hickory," as he was nicknamed, was a self-made man; so were his frontier followers—and so was Stephen A. Douglas, who shortly became the leader of the



Stephen A. Douglas as he appeared in 1858

Democratic party in Illinois. In future years, Douglas would become the champion of those who had loved and voted for Jackson—the young people, the common people, the frontiersmen, the westerners. Douglas was young, ambitious, full of confidence, and so was Illinois. Little wonder that within five years he was elected State's Attorney for the First Judicial Circuit (1835), won a seat in the state legislature (1835-37), was made Register of the Federal Land Office at Springfield (1837), and received the appointment, in December, 1840, as Secretary of State of Illinois. Three months later, at the age of twenty-seven, Douglas was elected a justice of the Illinois Supreme Court, the youngest man to hold that high office. The "Little Giant," as he was now affectionately called, was riding high, but not high enough. Always in his mind were Washington, Congress, and the presidency.

Actually Douglas had already run once for Congress, in 1837. The Whigs had laughed to think that the little upstart from Jacksonville would even try to win, for the district had been solidly Whig for years. But Douglas, always tireless and sure of himself, made campaign speeches in thirty-four counties. When the ballots were totaled on election day, the Whigs received the scare of their lives; Douglas had lost by only thirty-five votes! In 1843 he again

ran for Congress, campaigning as energetically as before, making forty speeches in as many days. As a result of this strenuous campaign, he was sick for months with a fever, but he won the election by more than four hundred votes. Four years later, the Illinois legislature elected him to the Senate.*

What sort of man had Illinois sent to Washington? His appearance, to say the least, was striking. He was only five feet, four inches tall, with short, stocky arms and legs and a head that was a little too large for a man of his small size. He was inclined to be stout and was not noted for his neatness of dress. But he had a magnificent head of long wavy hair, penetrating deep blue eyes, and a sonorous voice that thrilled the hearts of his listeners. His temper was hot, he loved a good fight, and in debate his tongue could be cruel. Men could not be neutral toward him. In his time, no one was more hated than Douglas, yet "no one," commented his fellow senator from Illinois, Lyman Trumbull, "ever gathered around [him] more devoted followers."

Ladies also seemed to find him charming. Back in Springfield he had paid court to that gay girl from the bluegrass, Mary Todd—the future Mrs. Abraham Lincoln—who commented that Douglas was "a very little, little giant by the side of my tall . . . husband." In 1847, Douglas married Martha Denny Martin of North Carolina. They had two sons, Robert and Stephen, before Mrs. Douglas died in 1853. Three years later Douglas wed the belle of Washington society, the beautiful and charming Adele Cutts.

Stephen A. Douglas was primarily a man of action rather than a man of thought. But if he had been asked to list his political beliefs, he probably would have answered with two: "the right of the people to decide all matters for themselves, and the destiny of the United States to grow until it reaches the Pacific—and perhaps takes over Canada, Mexico, and Cuba as well." Although he generally acted in line with these principles, he instinctively tried to solve political problems in the way that was both the easiest and the most likely to advance his chances for the presidency.

From 1843 until 1861, Douglas served in Congress. This period was a crucial one for the United States. The young republic was expanding to the west. The war with Mexico and the settlement of the Oregon boundary in the late 1840's took the flag of the United States all the way to the Pacific Ocean. Douglas, delighted with the course of events, saw the need for binding the different sections of



Adele Cutts Douglas

*Until 1913, senators were chosen by state legislatures, rather than by direct vote of the people.



Douglas' sons, Stephen (left) and Robert

the continent together to give them the feeling that they were all part of one country. To accomplish this, he worked for a national transportation system, one that would link the western United States with the East, the North with the South. Illinois, for instance, had long been interested in building a railroad that would connect Galena and Chicago with the southern part of the state. But funds were scarce. In 1850, however, Douglas got Congress to grant public lands (that is, land within the boundaries of the states that was owned by the federal government) to Illinois, Mississippi, and Alabama to be used for building a railroad from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. In Illinois, the state legislature voted to turn over its share of the public land grant—2,595,053 acres—to the Illinois Central Railroad Company, which then sold the land and used the money to build the railroad. On its completion in 1857, the Illinois Central was the longest railroad in the world, and Douglas deserves much of the credit for bringing it into being.

But in the 1850's America was confronted by a far more important issue than spanning the continent with ribbons of steel. The ugly problem of slavery threatened to divide the nation and set brother against brother in a bloody civil war.

Under the Constitution, Congress had no power to control slavery in those states where it already existed, but most people believed that Congress did have the right to regulate slavery in the territories, since they belonged

to the whole United States. As settlers poured into the West, new territories were organized and quickly requested admission to the Union as states. The struggle, then, between the slavery and the anti-slavery forces in Congress centered around the territories.

Douglas' own attitude was to let slavery alone as much as possible. He believed that slavery was not a moral question (that is, not a question of right or wrong), and he felt that people should be allowed to decide for themselves whether or not they wanted to have slavery in their territory or state. He himself, he said, did not care if slavery was "voted up or voted down." What he did care about was westward expansion. The West, he once declared, "is the hope of this nation." His great dream was of a railroad that would stretch to the Pacific, binding the nation together. And he knew that the voters back home in Illinois would like to see such a railroad follow a northern route. But first the country through which the railroad would pass had to be organized as a territory. Douglas, as chairman of the Senate committee on the territories, was subjected to great pressures from both North and South. Finally, in January, 1854, he presented his Kansas-Nebraska Bill to Congress.

The bill called for the organization of two territories, Kansas and Nebraska, and declared that the people of the territories were to vote on the question of whether or not they would have slavery. This procedure Douglas called "popular sovereignty." It was, he declared, the only democratic way to decide the



Earliest known picture of Douglas

question. But other northerners, who wished to confine slavery to the states where it already existed, maintained that the cause of liberty had been betrayed. Men who believed that the territories must remain free soil began to unite. In Ripon, Wisconsin, a group of them formed a new political organization which they called the Republican party. And in Springfield, Illinois, a successful lawyer was "aroused . . . as he had never been before"; Abraham Lincoln decided to re-enter politics.

Throughout the next four years, slavery became a greater problem than ever. Scattered outbreaks of violence in Kansas between settlers who wanted slavery and those who did not showed the intense feelings of men divided by the slavery issue.

During these years, Douglas continued to defend his popular sovereignty idea. Despite his prestige in the Senate and his influence in the Democratic party, he still had not achieved his greatest ambition—the presidency. In 1852 his friends had tried to win the Democratic nomination for him, but many older men in the party felt that since the senator was only thirty-nine years old, he could afford to wait. In 1856, he again hoped to be his party's choice but lost out to James Buchanan. Two years later, Douglas was up for re-election to the Senate. Everyone expected him to win the Democratic presidential nomination in 1860, but first he had to win the senatorial contest in 1858. And he knew he had a real struggle on his hands. His opponent was the leader of the new Republican party in Illinois—Abraham Lincoln.

Throughout the steaming summer and dreary autumn of 1853, Lincoln and Douglas campaigned all over Illinois. Douglas was at the height of his powers, thundering forth accusations that Lincoln and the Republicans were trying to divide the country. But Douglas, as Lincoln so well knew, was caught in a trap: In 1857, the United States Supreme Court had declared that neither Congress nor the people could make laws concerning slavery in the territories. In other words, the Court held that slavery could neither be established nor prohibited, thus, in effect, opening all the territories to slavery. How, therefore, asked Lincoln, could Douglas still support the idea of popular sovereignty when it was against the Court's decision? The Little Giant squirmed, but he had to answer: Despite the Supreme Court, Douglas replied, people could pass laws whose effect would be to keep slavery out of their territory, even though they did not specifically bar slavery itself. The free-soil men of Illinois were pleased, but not the Southern Democrats, who had hailed the Su-

preme Court for opening all territories to slavery. Without support from the South, Douglas could never become President.

In the 1858 election, Lincoln's supporters received more votes (125,430) than those of Douglas (121,609). More Democrats, however, were elected to the legislature and Douglas, consequently, was returned to the Senate. But in 1860, when the Democrats nominated Douglas to run for President, the South, remembering his reply to Lincoln, left the party and nominated its own candidate, John C. Breckinridge. In the election that followed, Breckinridge and Douglas together had more popular votes but victory went to the Republican candidate, Abraham Lincoln.

Too late, Douglas could see that his policy of trying to please both North and South had lost him his deepest desire. He had been blind to the importance of the slavery question to the nation. But with crystal-clear vision he now faced the new threat roaring out of the South. Lincoln, the opponent of slavery expansion, had been elected President; very well, then, the South would leave the Union and set up its own government. In this hour of crisis Douglas responded magnificently. He toured the old Northwest, his rich voice rallying the confused and wavering people to loyal support of their new President. But in a few weeks, Douglas was heard no more. On June 3, 1861, Illinois' Little Giant lay dying. In the midst of his own suffering, he was still mindful of the terrible ordeal through which his beloved country must pass. His last message was, "Tell my children to love and uphold the Constitution."

Stephen A. Douglas was a vain, cocksure little man who dreamed big dreams and was not always too careful about how he tried to make them come true. He lived, perhaps, at the wrong time, for he was doomed throughout most of his life to remain unaware that the black blot of slavery was destined to wreck his career and almost to destroy his country. But though wisdom was late, it did finally come. In his bitterest hour of defeat, when his dreams were broken beyond repair and his health was almost destroyed, Douglas, without a moment's hesitation, threw himself into the great struggle confronting him and his nation—saving the Union. True, Stephen A. Douglas physically was a little man, but in service to his country, few men were bigger.

This is number 5 in a series of pamphlets published by the Illinois State Historical Library for the Illinois State Historical Society. Copies may be obtained without charge by writing to the Illinois State Historical Society, Centennial Building, Springfield, Illinois.

AMERICAN STATESMEN
Course 42

DOUGLAS

Edmund

A synopsis , showing the order and content of the notes to be made for each biographical study.

I. SOURCES A. References to lists of sources, or
Bibliography of Bibliography

B. Detailed Lists of Sources

1. LITERARY

a. Primary

b. Secondary

c. Fiction

2. OBJECTIVE. Places, Museums, Pictures,
Monuments, Statues, etc.

3. MISCELLANEOUS. Sense Impressions,
Philology,
Anthropology, etc.

II. CHART. All events to be entered on the page , relative to
their chronological position in the century.

III. MAPS. Full page outline maps showing all places of residence
and travels.

IV. STATISTICAL RECORDS of personal characteristics, etc.

V. Story of Life. A brief biography giving the salient facts.

VI. SUMMARY

1. For what lasting achievements do we
honor the subject of this study ?

2. Why was he great ?

3. What is the personal significance ?
i.e. What is the value of the life
to your life ?

4. Wherein lay the power of the person
studied ? or What was the driving
motive of his life ?

VII. RELIGION (If not yet treated)

(If you use color in any of your charts, please use green for the
periods of youth, red for maturity, blue for last periods. Of course,
if you wish to use more colors you may do so, but follow this
scheme so far as practical for sake of uniformity.

STEPHAN A. DOUGLAS

(SOURCES)

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3. Encyclopedia Britannica

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newspapers to supplement manuscript sources-)
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of historical value but inaccurate for earliest
part of career.)

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Steven F.E.----

(Information of a personal nature, but rather un-
critical.)

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*Congressional Globe - Obituary,
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the compromise of 1850"

STEPHAN ARNOLD DOUGLAS

(SOURCES)

FICTION

None

OBJECTIVE

Monument and Statue over grave in Chicago

Gridely, Eleanor---"The Story Of Abrahm Lincoln"

VERBATIM QUOTATIONS

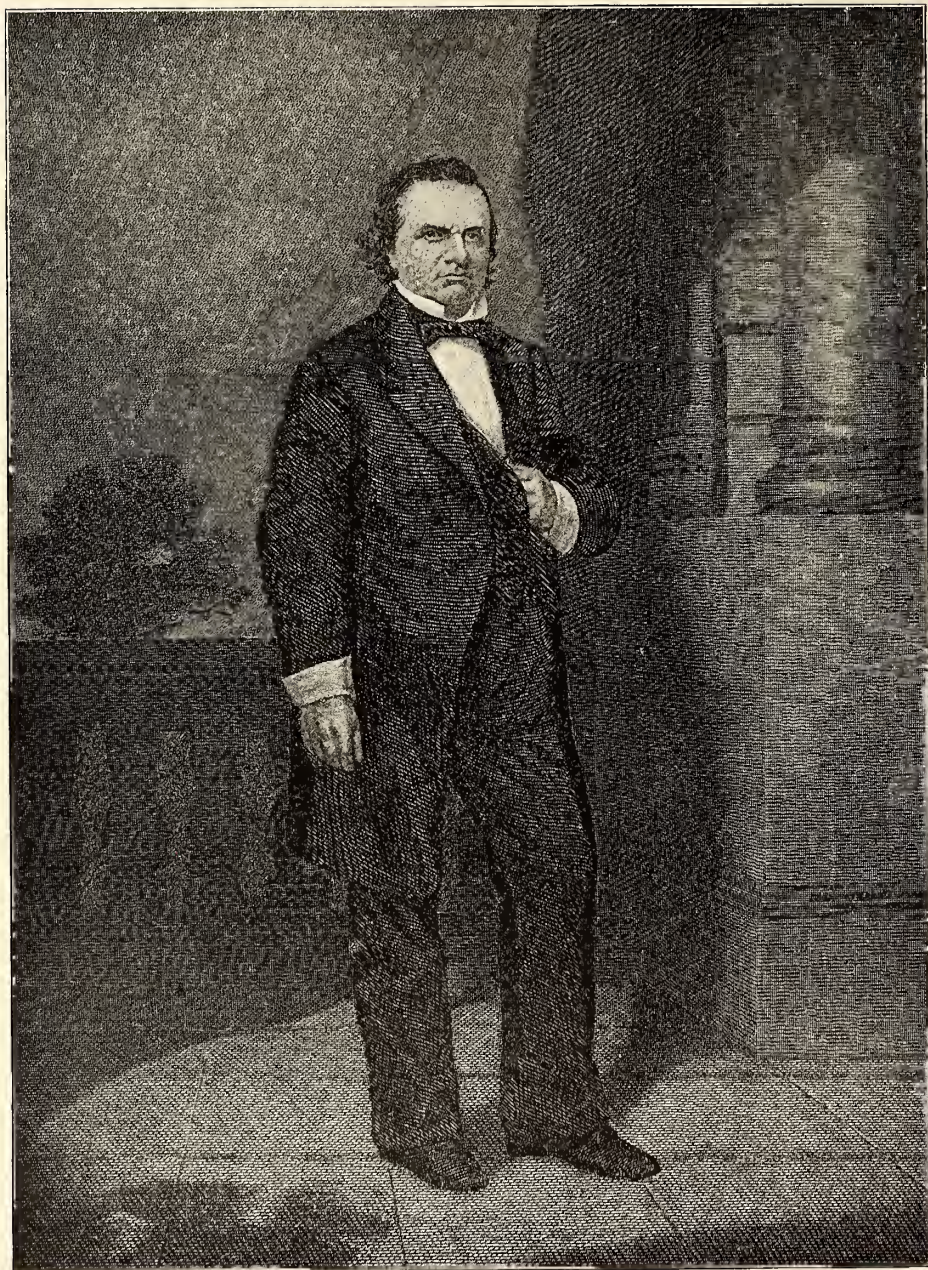
I. Bibil. of Bibil. -

1. Flint, H.M. - Life & speeches of N.A.

Public Life divided itself into five Periods*

1. Entrance to Congress (1843) to close of the war against Mexico (1848)
2. ~~Close~~ 1848 - Passage of Compromise measures of 1850
3. 1850 - Passage of the Nebraska bill (1854)
4. 1854 - 3rd election to the Senate, fall 1858
5. 1858 - March 1859 - his death -

* Flint

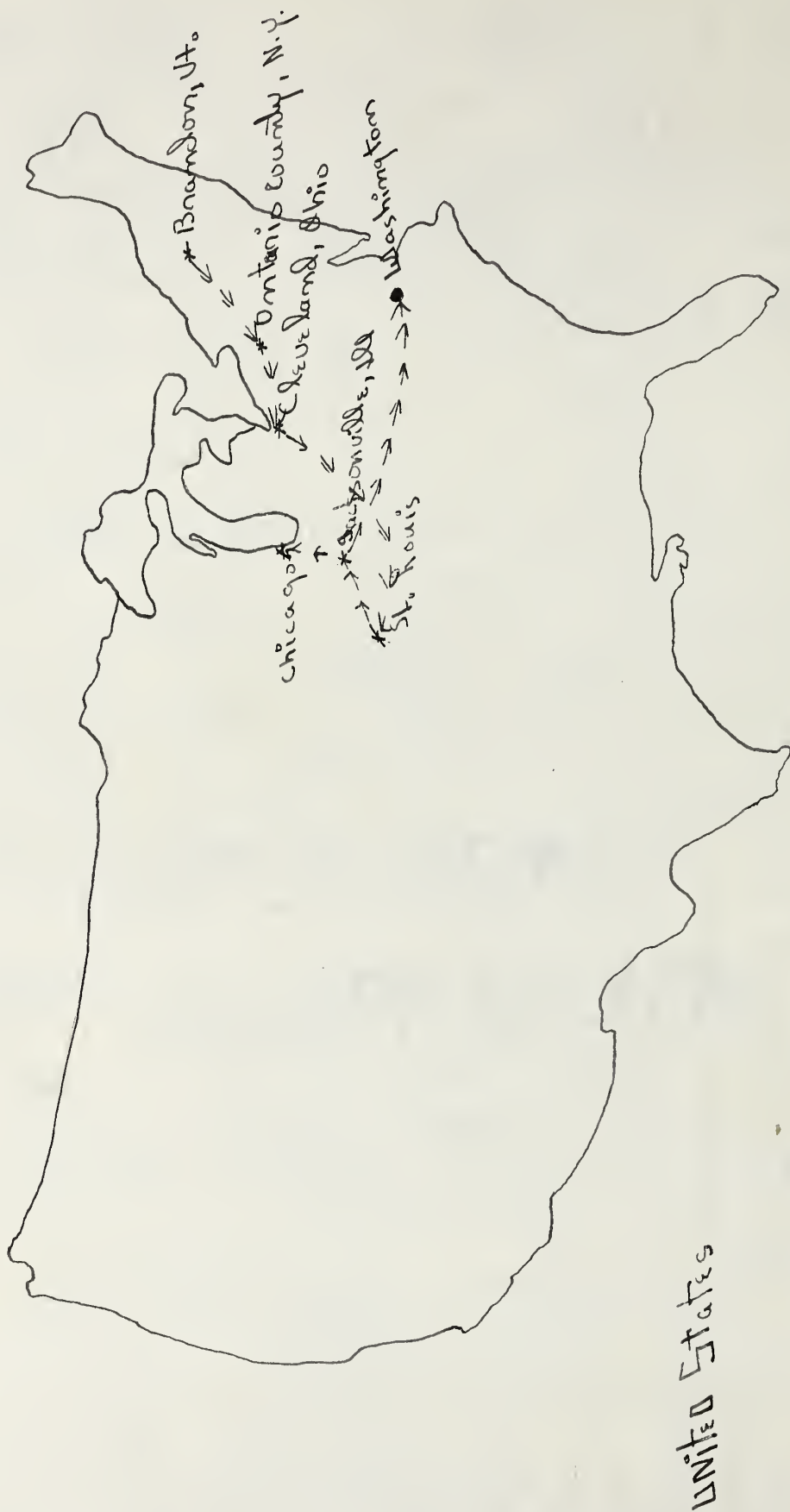


STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.
Lincoln's greatest political opponent.

				Age
Jenerson		STEPHAN ARNOLD DOUGLAS		
1809		Divisions of Life		
Madison	10			
1817		1813, April 23---Born--Brandon, Vermont		
Monroe	20	CHILDHOOD		
1825		Dependence on mother's brother		
Adams, J. Q.		Cabinet maker's apprentice		
1829		Moves to Ontario county, N.Y.		
Jackson	30	Enters Canandigua academy		
		Begins study of law		
1837		1833----Leaves home, goes to Cleveland and four months later to Jacksonville		
Van Buren	40	Teaches school at Winchester, Ill.		20
1841		Secures license to practice law		
Harrison-Tyler		STATE POLITICS		
1845		Becomes identified with Jackson Democrats		
Polk		Elected States Att'y		
1849		1836 Elected to State Legislation by Morgan county Democrats		23
Taylor-Fillmore	50	1837 Appointed Reg. of Lands		
1853		Retires to law practice		
Pierce		1840 Democratic State Nom. Chairman--Campaigns for Van Buren		28
1857		1841 Elected to the State Supreme Court by the Ill. Legislature		
Buchanan	60	1843----NATIONAL POLITICS		
1861		Elected to Congress		30
Lincoln		1847 Elected to Senate---Made Chairman of Committee on Territories		33
1865		April-Married Martha Denny Martin		
Johnson		Summer-Buys Chicago real-estate; establishes a home there		
1869		Compromise of 1850; drafts governments for Utah and N. Mexico		
Grant	70	1852 Defeated for Democratic nomination for President		
1877		Death of Wife		
Hayes		Trip into Russia and the Near East		
1881		1854 Kansas-Nebraska bill		
Garfield-Arthur	80	1856 Helps secure Buchanan's nomination and election		
1885		Marries Adele Cutts--daughter of Senator J. Madison Cutts		
Cleveland		1857 Denounces Lecompton Constitution --(breaks with anti-slavery fac-		
1889		tion of party.		
Harrison	90	Lincoln-Douglas debates		
1893		1859 Re-elected to Senate against Lincoln		
		1860 Democratic Nominee for President; Republican-Lincoln; Constitutional Union-John Bell		
		1861----Death of Typhoid fever-----buried in Chicago		64

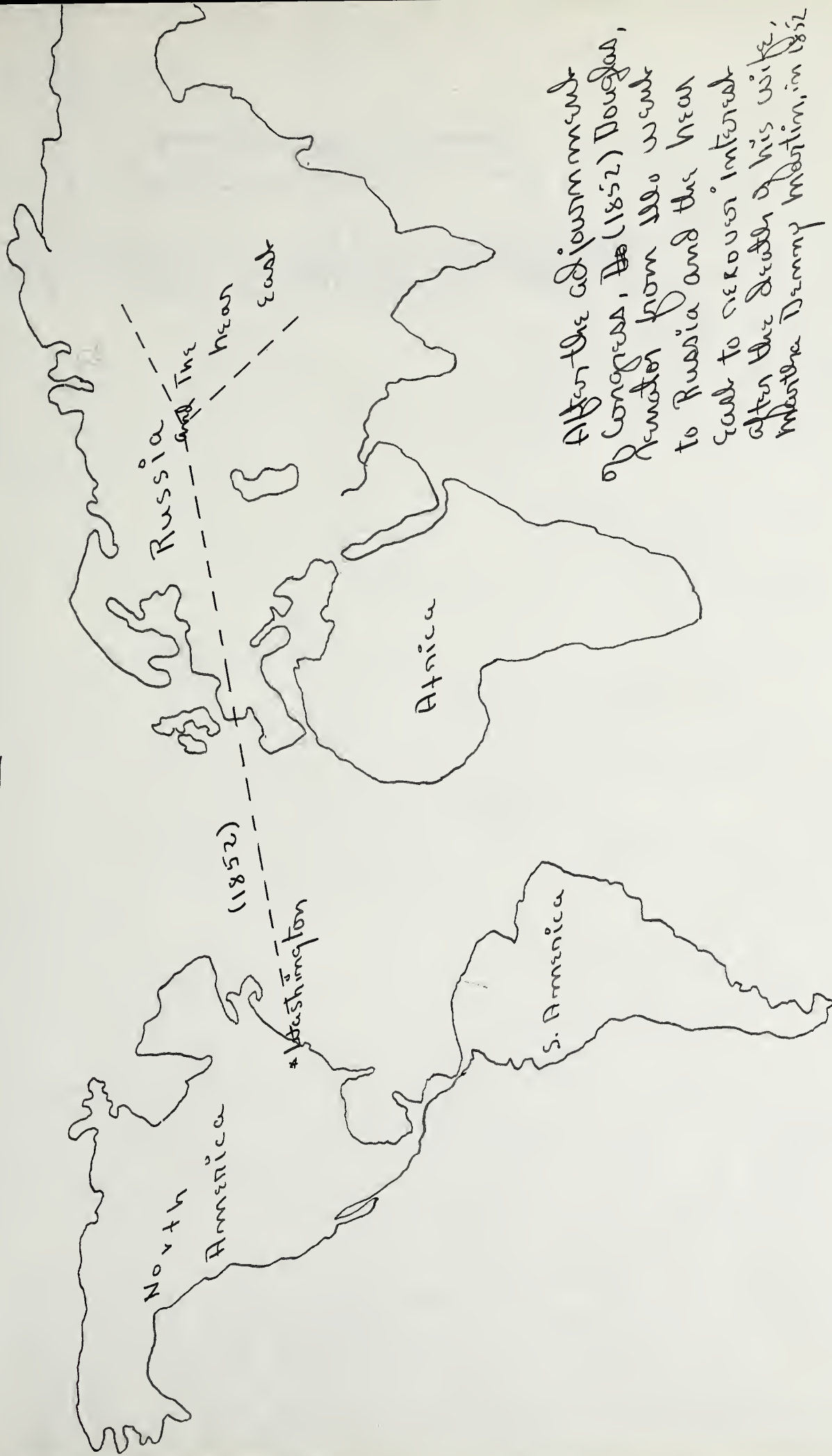
Stephen Arnold Douglas
III

Map No. One (1A)



Stephen Arnold Douglas III

map no. one (11)



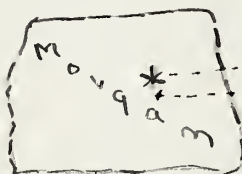
After the adjournment of Congress, ~~the~~ (1852) Douglas, Senator from Ill. went to Russia and the hear call to recover interest after the death of his wife, Martha Denny Martin, in 1852

The World II

ILLINOIS

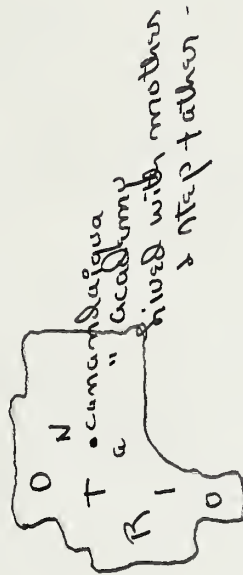
Summer 1847 * Chicago
built home
1841 - buried
monument

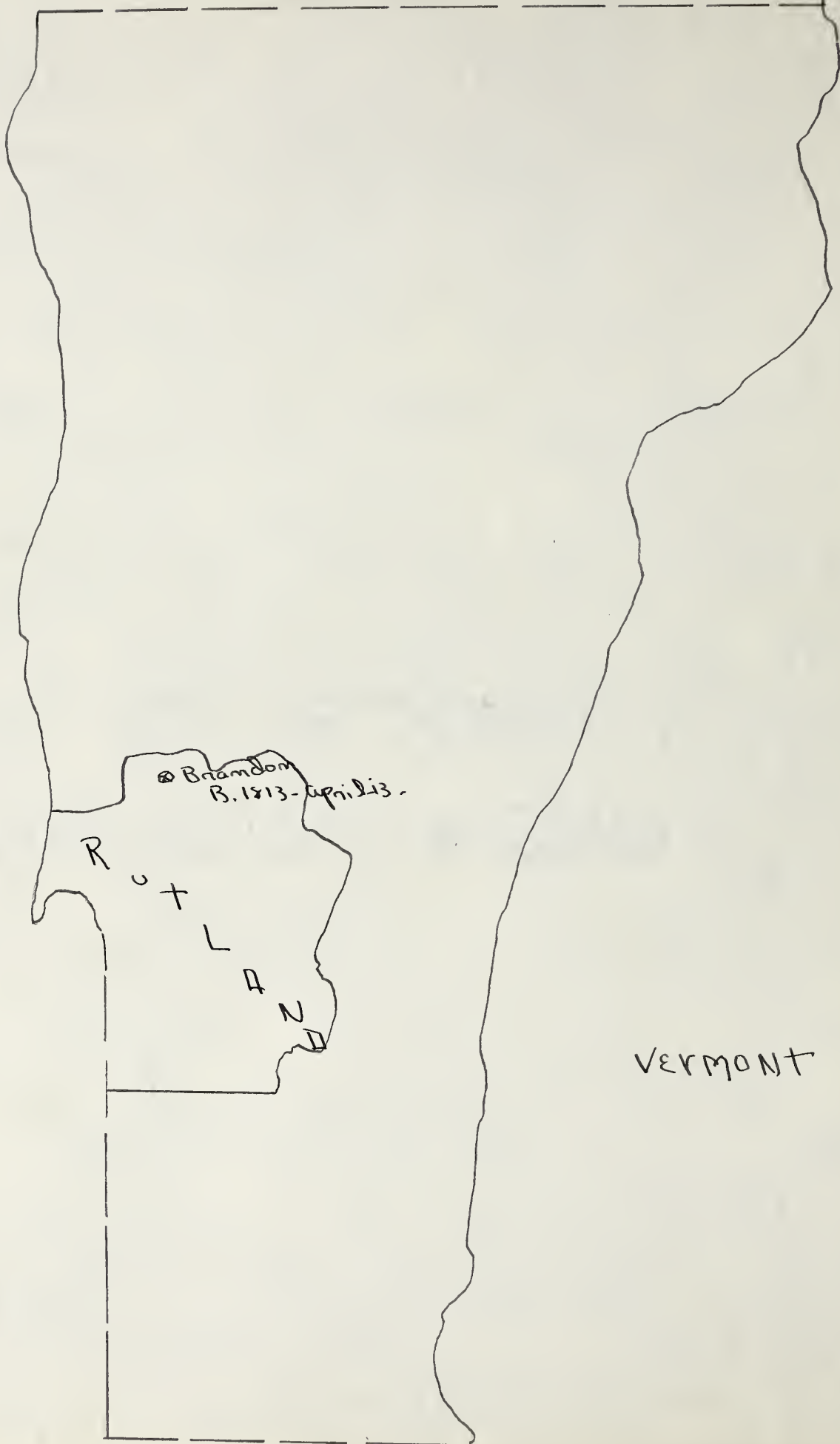
Springfield { Rego of lands (1837)
State Rego (1836)



Jacksonville } 1833
Winchester }
Taught school
Law office
Morgan County Demo.
State atty:
State Rego
supreme court judge

NEW YORK





NAME Length of life Born April 23, 1813 at Brandon, Vermont
Died

LINEAGE AND ANCESTRY : Ancestors originally Scotch; great-grand-father Am. by birth; Grandfather Penn. by birth, Revolutionary Soldier; father - N.Y. Physician of high repute
Of Puritan descent

Father Dr. Douglass Mother Sabra Fisk Brothers sisters

PERSONAL APPEARANCE IN MATURE YEARS

Height medium Weight dark brown Hair Blue Eyes - Rocky - massive head General Physique

EARLY YOUTH

Home Training at

EDUCATION

Elementary Secondary College and University
Brandon, Vermont - common school academy at Brandon (for over 1 yr.)
" " Canan Daiqua, N.Y.

MARRIAGE

Date	Age	Name of wife	Children	Living Descendants
1. Apr. 7, 1847	34	Martha Denny Martin		
2. 1856	44	Adèle Curtis	2	

HABITS

Alcohol Tobacco Sports Accomplishments

RELIGION

Church Member

no Particular Church

LIFE SERVICE

Public Offices Other Occupations Authorship

FRIENDS AND ADVISORS

DEATH Date Cause Place Place of burial Tomb
3 June Typhoid Tremont house - Chicago - Lake Michigan

NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

On grave -

HISTORY OF LIFE

Autobiography

Biographies

PICTURES

Portraits

Birthplace

Homes

Monuments

DEGREES

SOCIETIES

ORDERS

DECORATIONS

ETC.

Nephew Arnold Douglas

III.

A "New York Times" correspondent once described Douglas as "a very short man with a very large head. His head is perhaps his most striking physical feature because it seemed to over balance his body. It was massive in size, covered with heavy masses of dark brown hair and set off by an exceedingly high forehead. His eyes were large and of brilliant blue color and set deeply into his head. His eyebrows were thick, bushy and dark. The rest of his body as above noted was not above medium height. It is interesting to note that in 1847 Lincoln was the tallest man in the House and Douglas was the shortest man in the Senate.

On the platform however his diminutive height was offset by his large head and his strong voice which carried well. It was on the platform moreover where he gained his major recognition. He had little grace of delivery and his gestures were often violent. His presentation indeed often lacked refinement of manner. So Dr. Adams in speaking of a speech of Douglas in the House, wrote in his diary:

III.

In the midst of his roaring, to save himself from choking, he tripped off and cast away his Cravat, unbuttoned his waist-coat and had the air and aspect of a half-naked pugilist."

In spite of his uncountness, however, he was an extremely able debater. His power lay mainly in his knowledge of people - he spoke in the language of his audience and often affected homely frontier metaphors with which they were familiar. I should in speaking of his debate ability say - "He gained the title of 'Little Giant' for being both able and adroit in policy and full of resources; he gave the image of power under close compression."

An unsigned article in the Ency. Britannica declares that -

"As a resourceful political leader and an adroit, ready, skillful technician in debate, he had few equals in American History"

The Personal characteristic which was most prominent in the man was undoubtedly - Ambition. The "New Tribune" reminded Douglas in his

* Memoirs of J. Adams - Vol. XI - P. 510

III
campaign for the nomination of Pres.
in 1848 that "not vaunting ambition
over leaps itself", but added - "perhaps
the little judge never read *Makes peace*
and does not know of this.

This passion for the Presidency
made him just a little careless of
his job integrity and he was not
averse to taking advantage of a situation.
Although he was never accused of
corruption still his methods were not
always "above board".

Very little can be found about his
private morals although some of his
biographers intimate that they were
not above reproach and it was said
that Mary Todd preferred to do so because
of the latter's moral character.

In spite of his ambition however, "it
is to the everlasting credit of Douglas that
his love for country was strong enough
to make him stand with Lincoln
against disunion. And of his bio. writers -
"He survived the election of Lincoln
only long enough to reach a loyal and sup-
porting hand to his successful rival in the
crisis of Rebellion that ensued."

1 He did not ^{III} belong to any particular Creed or church but that he was not an atheist is proved in his will where he had written:
"I commit my soul to God, and ask the prayers of the good for his divine blessing."

In Memoriam: Senate, July 8, 1861

+ In social life Judge Douglas was genial and attractive & open, frank, and generous almost to a fault -- few men have ever had more numerous, or more devoted personal friends."

Mrs. Trumbull

+ "In my judgement he was in his time the greatest living master of forensic discourse. Scorning ornament, simple, vigorous, and robust in language and in manner he was a powerful as well as a just reasoner. --"

Mrs. McDougall, Demo

In Memoriam: In the Senate July 8, 1861
"No great Public movement has taken place since he entered public life which has not felt the influence of his will and his intellect; Perhaps no one man since the Government began, ever exercised a greater influence over the mass of people than he."
Aino Trumbull, Doug's colleague in the Senate - Monday, July 8, 1861.

x "The distinct characteristics of Judge Douglas, which enabled him to cope successfully with the greatest intellects of the age, were fearlessness, quickness of apprehension, a strong will and indomitable energy."
Trumbull.

Stephen Arnold Douglas

His III Life

The first American ancestor of the later famous Democratic leader, a great-great-grand father, William Douglas ^{a Puritan} came from Scotland to Boston during the middle of the 17th Century. Stephen Arnold was born on April 23, 1813 in Brandon, Vermont. (a little village with a present day population of 1,640) His father was a Vermont Country Doctor and his mother was Taha Fisk ^{also of Puritan stock} who was related to the Arnolds - one of the leading families of Rhode Island.

Dr. Douglass, a man of very moderate means died when Stephen was an infant and the family became dependent upon his mother's brother.

The early boyhood of young Douglas was rather common place and references there to are scarce. His schooling consisted of the Brandon Common School and a little more than a year at the Brandon Academy. The State of Vermont, however, was rich in Revolutionary traditions, its own history afforded an example of popular sovereignty, and the boy must have had contact with the town meetings which Brandon fostered as a democratic institution.

When he was fourteen his uncle married; and ^{Douglas} he was thrown upon his own resources and he "hired out" as a

IV

Cabinet maker's apprentice. His employers later are said to have remarked that even at that age he was particularly adept at making Bureaus.

Soon afterward his mother married Gehazi Granger; his sister married Granger's son and Steve moved with them to Ontario County N.Y. where he entered Canandaigua Academy. After he finished there he studied law in the offices of a Mrs. Hubbard until 1833. In June of that year, against the wishes of his mother, he went to Cleveland Ohio where he was led to believe he would be admitted to the bar within the year. Once there he found his hopes to be in vain and for four months lay ill with typhoid fever. From Cleveland he came to Jacksonville Ill. after wandering as far as Saint Louis, and it was here that he gained the title of "Little Giant". Being at first unable to find employment in Jacksonville he ~~taught~~ organized and taught a subscription school at the village of Winchester securing in this way forty pupils. He boarded mean while ~~at~~ ^{with} the storekeeper and read what law he could during his spare moments. In the spring of 1834 he finally secured a license to practice law from

IV

a member of the Supreme Court - and immediately thereafter he became identified with the Jackson Democrats of that region. Later in the same year he was elected State Atty. for the first judicial district. From that time on law became but the "hand-maid" to his political aspirations. He had already begun to organize the Democratic political machine and his rise as a politician coincided with the rise of the Democratic machine in Ill.

In 1836 he was elected to the State Leg. by the Morgan County Democrats [this - the tenth General Assembly contained also Abraham Lincoln as a delegate from Sangamon County] and in 1837 he was appointed register of lands office at Springfield by President Van Buren.

In Nov. of 1837, making his first attempt for national recognition, he received the Democratic nomination for Congress - "became of the required age (25) the day before the election" but lost by five votes to the Whig candidate - ~~John~~ John B. Toombs. After his defeat he retired to his law practice where he was noted for his careful preparation of cases and his skill and tact in cross-examination. His only political activity was during the Pres-

IV

idential campaign of Van Buren when he became the chairman of the Democratic State Committee and succeeded in carrying the State for the Demo. Candidate even though Harrison was elected.

Later in 1840 he was app. Secy of State by the Democratic Gov. whom he had helped, and in February of 1841 he was elected one of the five new members of the State Supreme Court where he remained until 1843 when by a majority of 461 votes he was elected to Congress. His first speech in Congress (Dec. 19, 1843) was on the improvement of Western lakes and harbours in which he urged the appointment of a special committee to study the situation. His second one was for the annexation of Texas.

1847 marks the beginning of his national Democratic leadership. In Dec. the legislature of Ill. elected him Senator as the colleague of Sidney Brezize and he was made chairman of the Committee on Territories. [During his control of this Com. he introduced bills for admitting Texas, Florida, Iowa, Wisconsin, Minn., California and Oregon into the Union, and he organized the territories of Minn., Oregon, New Mexico, Utah, Washington, Kansas, and Nebraska.]

IV

In April he married Martha Denny Martin the daughter of Colo Robert Martin who owned a plantation in Rockingham County, No Carolina and another in Mississippi. Mrs Douglas inherited from her father a hundred and fifty slaves who were considered a distinct liability by Douglas because the Democratic Crotch of gravity had shifted from the Southeners of No Ills to the Yankees of No Ills and he was anxious not to offend them even although he had not yet declared himself upon the slavery question.

During the summer of 1847 he bought Chicago real estate and took up residence in that City. It was largely through his efforts that the Ills Central R.R. from Mendota to Cairo was linked with Chicago on the north and Mobile on the South.

In 1850 he played a rather important part in the Compromise of 1850 - One biographer says -

"He did more probably than any one man except Clay to secure the adoption of the Compromise measures of 1850"

In 1852 he ran for the Democratic nomination for President and on the 31st ballot he received the highest vote of any of the candidates giving Buchanan and Cass

IV

Some concern, but he failed to secure the money in this as in later campaigns he was supported by the younger men.

The same year (1852) his wife died and he became bitter to a marked degree and exceedingly careless of dress and appearance. After the adjournment of the Senate he went on an extended trip to Russia and the near East to recuperate from his sorrow.

In 1853 the Kansas-Nebraska bill, providing for two territories instead of one, and declaring that the people of the territories were free to "regulate their domestic institutions in their own way subject only to the Constitution of the U.S." Passed the house and was introduced into the Senate where it was referred to the Committee on Territories. That Committee says Rhodes "as far as any affirmative legislation was concerned, was Douglas." It was composed, however, of Douglas, Johnson (Ark.) Jones (Iowa) and Houston, Democrats and Bell and Everett, Whigs.

On Jan 4, 1854 Douglas gave his report which stirred up tremendous political agitation because while the Missouri compromise forever prohibited slavery in the territory of Nebraska, Douglas proposed to leave it up to the inhabitants as to whether or not they would

IV

have slaves thus declaring the Missouri Comp. null and void. It was in this report that Douglas coined the phrase "Popular Sovereignty" to replace the name "Agitation" which this principle had previously been called. The magnitude of the Report can better be realized when it is known that the territory of Nebraska comprised what is now the states of Nebraska, Kansas, the two Dakotas, Montana, Wyoming and part of Colorado. From the political tangle that resulted the Know-Nothing and the ~~Union~~ Republican Parties sprang up. Douglas's motive in stirring up slavery agitation at a time when the political atmosphere was comparatively free were severely criticized. John Van Buren in a letter to Ex-Senator Demings, Feb. 3d, 1854* declared -

"Could any thing but a desire to buy the South at the Presidential Chambers Dictate such an outrage?" What ever his motives the fact remains that it caused an undue amount of slavery agitation when none had been intended and Rhodes goes so far as to say - "It must be adjudged that Douglas hastened the struggle; he precipitated the Civil War."

* Rhodes

IV

In 1856 the younger People again supported Douglas for the Democratic nomination for President against Buchanan & but when Do received 168 votes against his 122 on the 16th ballot Do with Drew and instructed his friends to vote for the majority candidate — on the next ballot Buchanan was unanimously nominated.

After the election Douglas married Adèle Cutts the Daughter of J. Madison Cutts, a grand niece of Dolly Madison and a Roman Catholic.

In 1857 he denounced the Le Compton Constitution, broke with the Pro-Slavery faction of the Party entirely and opposed Buchanan's A bitter attack from other Democratic leaders followed and his health broke under the strain.

It was during this time also that the famous Lincoln - Douglas Debates took place. They served to widen the breach between Do and the dominant faction of the Party because he forced him to deny the full force of the Dred Scott Decision.

1858 - 1861, according to Fiske one of his biographers, marks the last period of his Political life. The Joint houses gave Do 54 votes for the Senate against Lincoln's

IV

He voted but again in the Senate he was severely treated by his Democratic colleagues and lost his dominant position on the Committee of Trade. After a period of attempted reconciliation he threw himself to the winds and utterly opposed any active intervention by Congress to ~~protect~~ ^{restore} slave property in the South. He prepared, further an essay published in Harper's mag. entitled "The dividing line between Federal and ~~State~~ ^{Local} Authority"; in which he attempted to reconcile the theory of "Popular Sovereignty" with the Dred Scott decision.

In June, 1860 he was nominated for Pres. after the withdrawal of 7 Northern delegates who nominated Breckinridge. The Rep. nominated Ab. Lincoln and the Constitutional Union Party - John Bell. During the campaign that followed Do did considerable personal campaigning for which he was criticized. But he admitted that Lincoln might win the election and declared that he was more concerned in reorganizing the Demo Party.

In the election Do alone drew votes from all sections of the country and fell only 489,455 popular votes short of Lincoln although he received only 12 electoral votes.

IV

to Lincoln's 180.

After he was elected he urged him to call a national convention to forbid the Federal Government from interfering with the domestic institution of Slavery in the States and it was ^{his} instance of D. supported byeward that probably led h. to modify his inaugural address on that point.

It is to the credit of D. that he supported the new President. He and Mrs. Douglas were among the first to call and to rally Washo Societies to the support of the Lincoln. Mrs. Douglas approved also of the Pres. Proclamation calling for 75,000 troops. One of the earlier of his biographers reports that he had said to the Pres. -

"Mrs. President I cordially concur in every word of that document except that instead of the call for 75,000 men I would make it for 200,000."

Early in '61 he left on Lincoln's request to arouse the People of the North concerning a speech on April 25, '61 given at Springfield, denouncing secession and pleading for the support of the Gov. Horace White wrote*

* Dic. of Am. Bio.

TV

"I do not think it is possible for a human being to produce a more prodigious effort with spoken words."

He died of Typhoid fever at the Tremont House, Chicago, June 3, 1861. He was buried in Chicago on the shores of Lake Michigan. Years later the spot was purchased by the State and a statue by Leonard Volk was placed over his grave. His mother, his wife and two children by his first marriage survived him.

On July 8, 1861 ^{these} resolutions ~~was~~ ^{were} passed in the Senate:

"Resolved, that the members of the Senate, from a sincere desire of showing every mark of respect due to the memory of Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, deceased, late a Senator from Ill. will go into mourning by wearing srape on the left arm for thirty days."

"Resolved, that as an additional mark of respect --- the Senate do now adjourn."

Stephen Arnold Douglas Connection with Lincoln*

A point of particular interest in the study of Douglas is that for almost twenty-five the two and Lincoln were confirmed rivals.

The political careers of the two men started at about the same time and place. When Lincoln was first elected to the State legislature, Douglas was canvassing for States ally. In 1836 both were elected to the State assembly and often clashed in debate.

In 1839 Lincoln offered a resolution in a meeting of the Whigs inviting their Democratic opponents to a debate. The Democrats accepted appointing to A. Douglas, John Calhoun, ~~Joshiah Hammon~~ and two others to meet Lincoln, Stephen T. Hogan and two other Whigs. Following the debate the two orators each canvassed the State for their respective candidates, often speaking from the same platforms and indulging in many sharp conflicts of which Douglas emerged slightly victorious. The success of Douglas was evident in that Van Buren carried the State of Ill. by a large majority.

The next important conflict was in Springfield in 1840; ~~it~~ it was not in ~~love~~ but

* Taken chiefly from - Rothschild, Alonzo - "Lincoln, master of men"

: Connection with Lincoln

VII

politics but in love. Miss Mary Todd who had recently moved to Ill. from Kentucky was the cause - for both D. & H. courted her. Rothschild says -

"As a society man, Douglas was infinitely more accomplished, more attractive, and influential than Lincoln - - - and he was unpermitting in his attentions to the lady, promenade the streets arm in arm with her - frequently passing Lincoln - and in every way, made plain his intention to become the latter's rival."

Never the less, he lost and H. was the undisputed Victor of the Second Conflict.

In the following decade their meetings were few. While Lincoln was still interested in the "Small Fry Litigation" of Springfield, D. had gained national prominence. They were no longer in the same class and Lincoln frankly envied his more fortunate opponent. In an original manuscript which is quoted in "The Story of Abraham Lincoln" by Hildrey he wrote - "I feel no contempt for the high eminence he has reached. - I would rather stand on that eminence than wear the richest crown that ever pressed a monarch's brow."

In 1854 after Douglas had violated the Missouri Compromise, & came to Ill.

: Connection with Lincoln VII

to defend his course, Lincoln again challenged him in debate and made the situation in the state exceedingly embarrassing. Douglas straddled the slavery issue with his doctrine of popular sovereignty and to a great extent won back the Democrats of Ill.

In 1858 with Lincoln nominated as the Republican candidate for the Senate and Douglas endorsed as the Democratic candidate, they once more came into direct conflict. This time, Lincoln remembering that he had a better chance at close quarters, challenged the "Little Giant" to a series of debates. He realized that Douglas was better known and admitted that he had been more successful - He said at the time - "Twenty-two years ago Judge Douglas and I first became acquainted - even then we were both ambitious - with me the race of ambition has been a flat failure; with him it has been one of splendid success." Douglas, on the other hand didn't want to meet him in debate - he said at the time - * - "if he gets the best of this debate - and I want to say he is the ablest man the Republicans have got - I shall lose everything and Lincoln will gain everything. Should I win, I will gain but little."

* Rothschild - "Lincoln, Master of Men"

: Connection with Lincoln

VII.

at a later date he said - "I assure you I would rather meet any other man in the country, in this joint debate, than Abraham Lincoln."

In the first debate at Ottawa Douglas seemed to have the best of it and kept Lincoln continually on the defensive. In the second debate at Free-Port Lincoln "hooked" his opponent on the slavery question and forced him to declare the invalidity of the Dred-Scott decision, and for the rest of the series - at Charleston, Galena, Quincy and Alton, he forced the fighting. Douglas during the weeks preceding the election made 139 speeches in 100 nights and days.

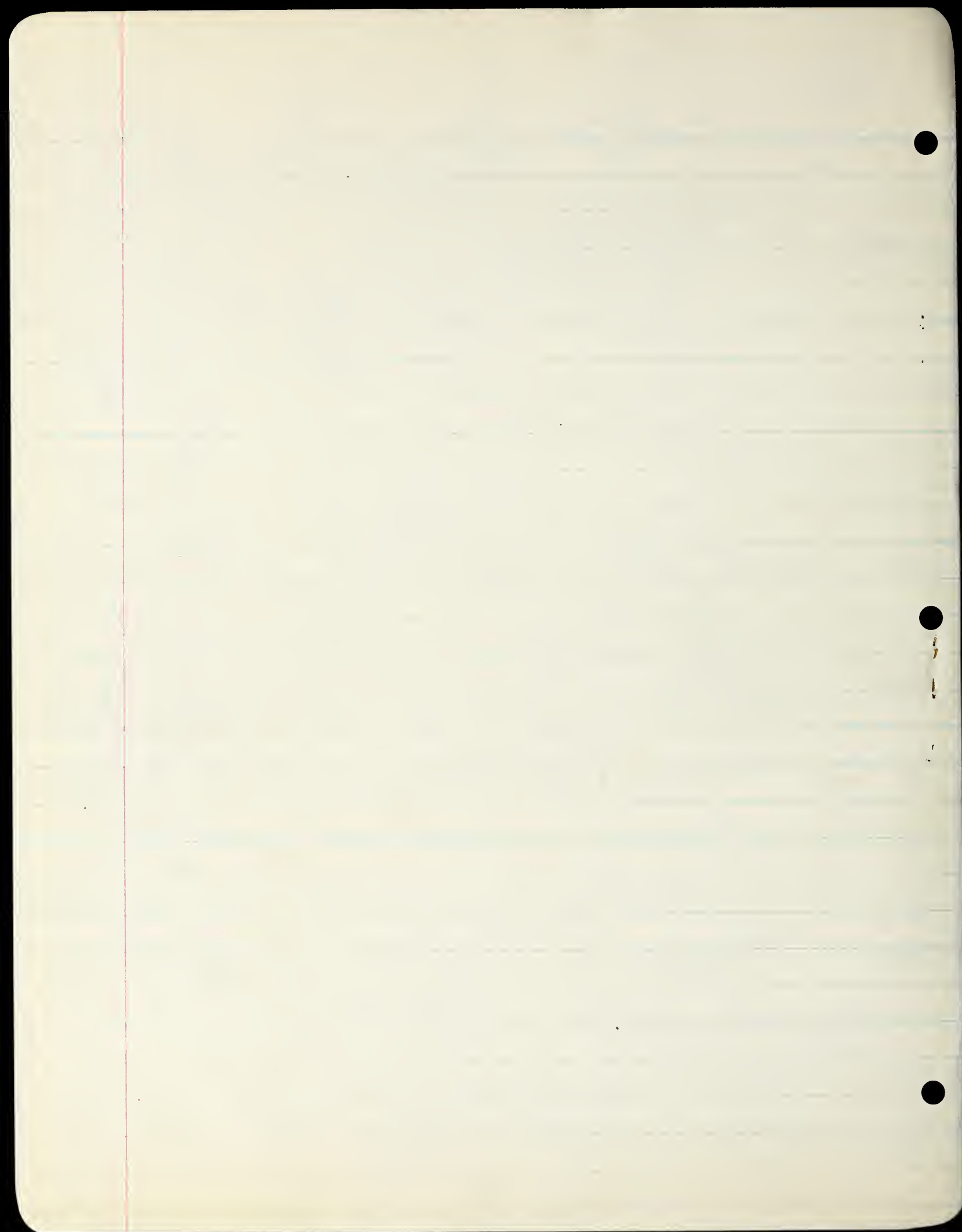
In the actual election the Republicans made large gains in the state but the legislature elected Douglas to the senate by a small majority.

The climax to the 25 year struggle was reached in ~~the~~ 1860 when Lincoln was nominated Republican candidate and Douglas, in a "rump" convention, Democratic candidate. The long race drew to a close and Lincoln had won. During the fall later Douglas proved a friend and supporter of Lincoln's policies and ~~where~~ he died in 1861, while campaigning the country at Lincoln's request, at the Tremont House, Chicago.

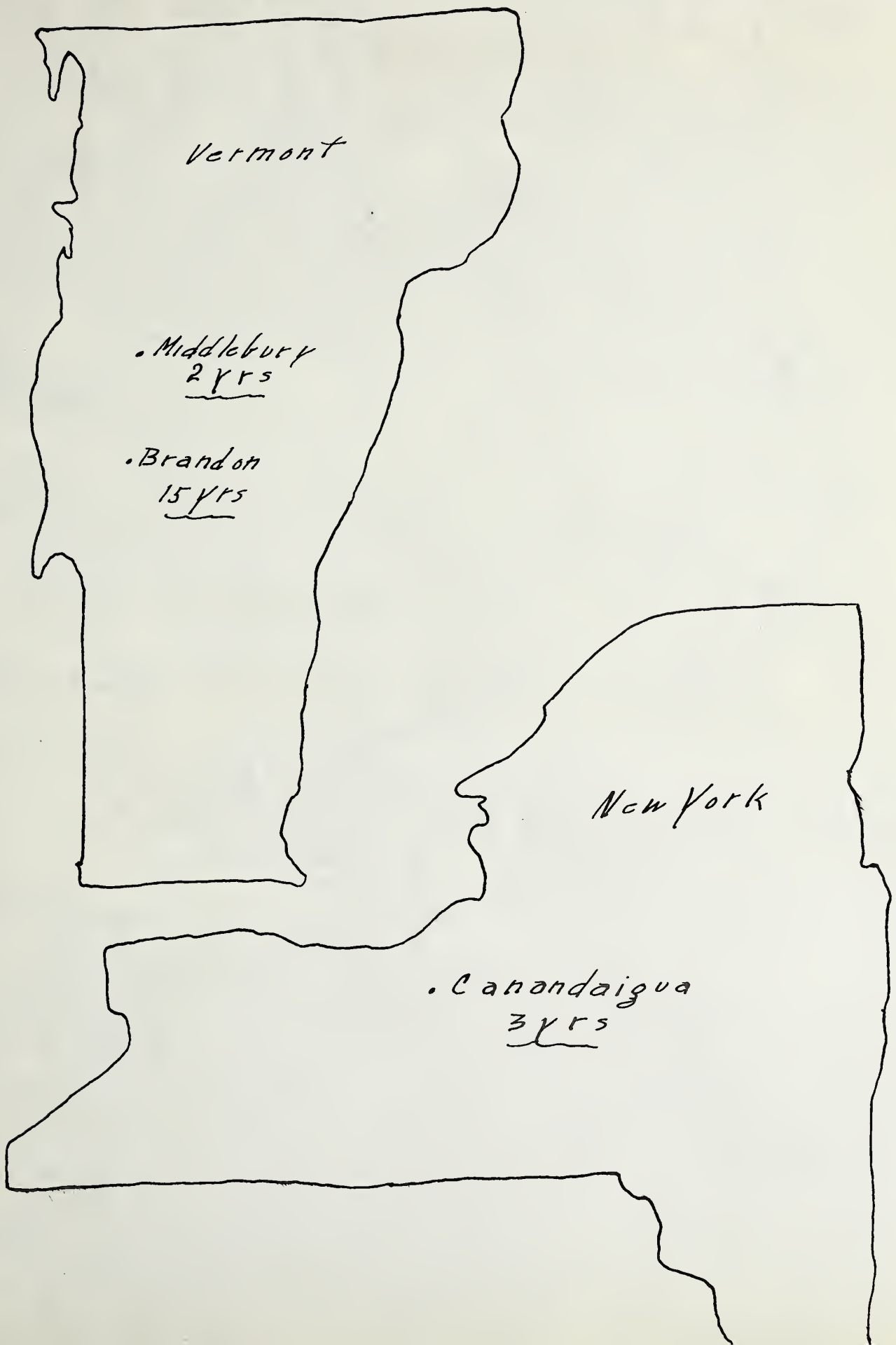
Nebraska Report

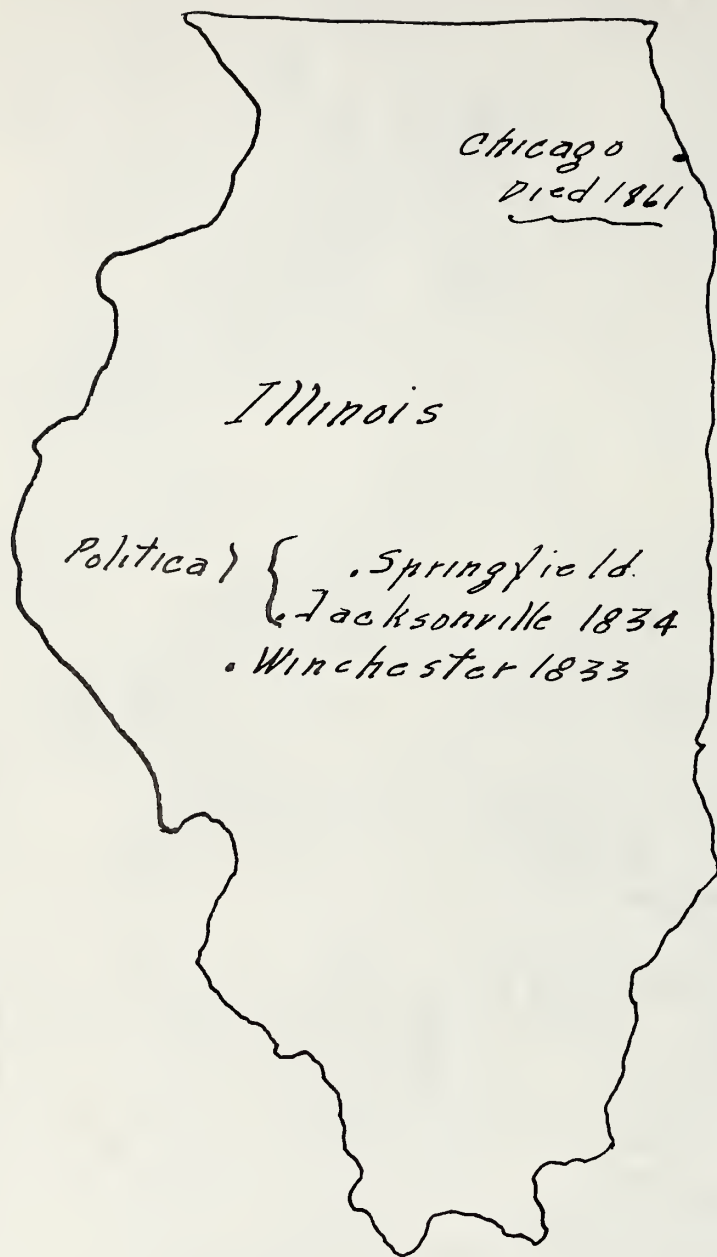
(taken from Rhodes "Hist. of U.S." p. 426)

In speaking of the compromise measures he says: "they" were intended to have a far more comprehensive and enduring effect than the mere adjustment of difficulties arising out of the recent acquisition of Mexican territory. They were designed to establish certain great principles which would not only furnish adequate remedies for existing evils, but, in all time to come, avoid the perils of similar agitation by withdrawing the question of slavery from the halls of Congress and the political arena, committing it to the arbitration of those who were immediately interested in, and alone responsible for, its consequences. . . . A question as to the right to hold slaves in the territory of Nebraska, when the Indian laws shall be withdrawn and the country thrown open to immigration and settlement. . . . It is a disputed point whether slavery is prohibited in the Nebraska country by valid enactment. . . . In the opinion of those eminent statesmen who hold that Congress is invested no rightful authority to legislate upon the subject of slavery in the territories, the eighth section of the act preparatory to the admission of Missouri is null and void."



Stephen A. Douglas





Chicago
Died 1861

Illinois

Political) { . Springfield.
 . Jacksonville 1834
 . Winchester 1833

Stephen A. Douglas

Lineage--Scotch father---Boston 1650

mother---Rhode Island

Born April 23, 1813--father died 1813

1813-33 Left to Mother

Ordinary education, till later years.

early life Apprentice to Cabinet maker

Revolutionary spirit in early life

1827 Mother married G ranger--moved to Ontario N. Y.

1833 left home--started west

Afflicted with Typhoid until Oct. 1833

arrived at Jacksonville

1833-42

was destitute

moved to Winchester

School teacher--subscription school

Read law books of a friend

public
life

1834 Admitted to bar in Jacksonville

Popularity started

advocated nominating conventions

1836 State legislature

1835 Public prosecutor

1837 Nominated for congress

chairman of state democratic party

1840 Presidential campaign--Tyler

Sect. of State

Lobbying for reorganization of State Supreme Court

1842 Democratic candidate for Senator--defeated

1843 Nominated for congress

Stricken to bed on election day

1843-1861

won election--defended Jackson in House

Advocated annexation of Texas

Sponsored Military campaign in Northwest

Very shifty character

1847 married a Miss Martia--a daughter of a Southern
Plantation owner

National Residence in Chicago

life 1847 Elected to Senate

Chairman of Committee on Territories

Kansas-Nebraska Bill

Advocated Mexican War

Compromise measures of 1850

1852 Candidate for Presidency

1853 wife died--toured Orient

1854 Kansas-Nebraska bill repealed

Missouri Compromise of 1820

Tore spirit of his own party by it

Forced it thru

Did not help prestige of Douglas

1856 Candidate for Presidency

1858 Re-elected to Senate

Any other man but Lincoln he would have defeated
but instead he was deeply wounded

1860 Nominated for Presidency

Lost his last political battle bravely

Supported Lincoln in Rebellion
"There can be no neutrals in this war"

1861 Died in Chicago, June 3

HE "LITTLE GIANT" OF ILLINOIS AS KNOWN BY HIS SON.

BY STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.



Stephen A. Douglas.

The political history of my father, Stephen Arnold Douglas, is, of course, well known. The history of his private life, however, has never been thoroughly written. Much of the material for it dies out as those who knew him personally pass from the scene.

Without doubt a very great, if not the greatest and most potential, element in his character, that element which secured to him the absolute and unfaltering devotion of his friends and the admiration and regard of all who became acquainted with him, was the warm, the genial, the affectionate side of his nature, which the public could never see as "the public," or excepting as it is composed of individuals. Everybody around him loved him, and this love still lingering warms the hearts of the few who are alive today who remember him, a fact of which touching and convincing evidences are presented to me from time to time.

When my father was first elected to Congress he weighed only 105 pounds. In the distribution of seats he was placed next to a new member, beginning his first session, David S. Reid of North Carolina. An intimacy arose immediately between the two men, who were within a pound of each other in weight, whose ages differed by only five days, and who were of exactly the same height.

During that winter my father met the family of an uncle of Mr. Reid, Colonel Robert Martin of North Carolina, then chairman of the board of governors of the State Bank of North Carolina, one of whose daughters, Miss Martha Denny Martin, my father married the following year. His visits to Carolina, both before and after his marriage, and

his rising reputation, brought him into contact with the Democratic leaders in that state. They were leaders practically without an army, as the Whigs controlled the state by some 30,000 majority.

At that time no man was allowed to hold a seat in either branch of the Legislature unless he owned 200 acres of land, and no one was permitted to vote for State Senator unless he was the owner of fifty acres of land. In a speech before the state convention in Raleigh, my father enunciated the "radical" doctrine of manhood suffrage, and succeeded in placing the party in North Carolina on that platform. The nomination for Governor was not much sought. Largely through my father's influence, David S. Reid, my mother's first cousin, was nominated for Governor, running against the then incumbent of that office, Governor Manley.

Reid was fearless and stood by his guns, facing an adverse majority of 30,000, and had a joint debate with his opponent in every one of the ninety counties of the state. Governor Manley was re-elected by about 3,000 majority. The next year my father again appeared before the convention. Mr. Reid was renominated and elected by over 20,000 majority, and the Whig party never ran another candidate in North Carolina. This has never before been published.

Party hatreds in the South are exceedingly strong, and, after the war, the Carolina wing of the national Democracy was controlled entirely by ex-Whigs, who hated even the name of Democrat, and did not, for at least two elections after the war, permit themselves to be called by that name. They were called Conservatives—the Douglas

Democrats of former days, if for no other reason than that of natural antagonism, becoming the leading of the new Republican party in the state.

Disgust of Jefferson Davis.

In January, 1853, my mother died, and my father went to Europe, remaining away from the United States for some eighteen months. It was upon his return, at which time I was 5 years old, that I really became acquainted with him. From that time until his death I was with him as constantly as the circumstances of his position would permit.

I recall vividly one little incident of those days which has influenced my opinion with regard to Jefferson Davis all my life, and comes back to me as if it happened yesterday. My father's sister was keeping house for him, in Washington, and we were living in an old-mansion which was built before the city reached that section, occupying an entire block. We had an Irish servant who generally attended the door, and who had thereby become acquainted with most of the regular callers. One Sunday afternoon my father and I, who had become great chums, were playing horse in the library. Father was in a somewhat undignified posi-



Stephen A. Douglas, the Son.

tion, on his hands and knees, with the bridle across his forehead. I was the rider. While he was prancing around the room on all fours, with me on his back, the door opened suddenly and John announced Senator Davis of Mississippi and Robert Toombs and Alexander Stephens of Georgia. This was that Stephens, who, although a Union man and against secession to the very last, became Vice President of the Confederacy under Mr. Davis.

Both Toombs and Stephens entered into the spirit of the occasion, and looked on appreciatively and made encouraging remarks. But Mr. Davis seemed to be utterly disgusted with the idea that a United States Senator should condescend to play horse with his children. I was then and there willing to swear, although I had never as yet heard the expression, that Mr. Davis was "fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils," etc., and I have never yet lost the opinion that I formed of him upon that occasion.

That incident of my father's family life is a fair instance of all of it. He was a family man, fond of his home and of his children.

Heaten by Indignant Woman.

One Sunday afternoon, some three years later, I went out for a walk with him. Very near to our house in Washington was the edge of the classic neighborhood called Swanpoodle, which was a settlement of shanties. It was a place which the officers of the law went to only in numbers. They would not dare to venture there singly. Just on the edge of this settlement my father's attention was attracted by the cries of a woman, who was evidently in pain or terror, or both. Stepping in at an open door, he found a man

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